

# THE CŪLAVAMSA II





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CŪLA VAMSĀ

BEING THE MORE RECENT PART OF THE

MAHĀ VAMSĀ

PART II.

TRANSLATED BY

WILHELM GEIGER

AND FROM THE GERMAN INTO ENGLISH BY

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AUTHOR OF "THE CHRONOLOGY OF CEYLON"

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT  
OF CEYLON



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To

Mr. A. M. Hocart,  
Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon,

in sincere gratitude.





2 JULY 1954

## INTRODUCTION

Recent years have brought us two comprehensive works on the chronology of Ceylon: 1) JOHN M. SESAVERATNE, "The Date of Buddha's Death and Ceylon Chronology", JRAS. C. B. XXIII, No. 67 (1914), p. 141 ff. and 2) DMDZ. WICKREMASINGHE, "Ceylonese Chronology", as Introduction to vol. III of his *Epigraphia Zeylanica*.

Still earlier investigations dealing with a longer period are: 3) SYRAIS LERI, "Les Missions de Wang Hiuen Ts'e dans l'Inde" in JAS. 1900, p. 297 ff., 401 ff., translated by JOHN M. SESAVERATNE, JRAS. C. B. XXIV, No. 68 (1915-16), p. 75 ff. (with "Notes" by the Translator p. 106 ff. and 4) E. HUNTER, "Contributions to Singhalese Chronology", JRAS. 1913, p. 517 ff.<sup>1</sup>

I mention further 5) H. W. COOMAROS, "A Short History of Ceylon" where on p. xiii there is a "Note on the Chronology of Ceylon" which deserves attention.

The numerous single investigations particularly those in the JRAS. C. B. will be quoted in their place. Their authors are: P. E. PERERA, E. W. PERERA, S. DE SILVA, B. GOWISSEKARI, H. C. P. BELL, E. R. ATREUS, H. W. COOMAROS etc.

The two first named articles (S. and WICK.) start as I did myself in the translation of the *Mahāvanssa* from Fugel's date of 483 B. C. for the Nirvana of Buddha. Even if this date is not absolutely exact — arguments are advanced for the year 487 B. C. — it is as well to retain it for the moment. Now WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I, p. 155 ff., has proved that even in

<sup>1</sup> I quote the above articles as follows: 1) = S., 2) = WICK., 3) = L., 4) = H. with the page number (in the case of 3 that of the English translation).

Ceylon itself there are traces of an era starting from 483 B. C. whereas later, almost certainly in the 7th century, 544/3 B.C. was adopted as the year of the Nirvana. Thus the most important thing is to find out the point in the chronology of Ceylon where the transition from the one era to the other takes place, where consequently we find an excess of 61 years.

SESAVATSE (p. 143)<sup>1</sup> goes farthest in his assumption that the era of B. C. 483 was in use up to the close of the 15th century when a reform of the calendar took place, 544 B. C., being adopted as the year of Buddha's death, 93 instead of 61 years being erroneously added. At the same time the Saka era (78/9 A. D.) was dated back 93 years. Later, about the 18th century, with a new reform of the calendar, the Buddha era was adjusted to the difference of 61 years. S. gets rid of the surplus number by the assumption that several of the kings' names handed down by tradition for the 15th and 16th centuries refer to the same person, that others are the names of co-regents, while many are mere inventions. Parakkamabāhu VI. is identical with Parakkamabāhu IX., Bhuvanekabāhu VI. with Bh. VII., while Parakkamabāhu VII. and VIII. never existed (p. 176—177).

SESAVATSE defends his thesis with great acumen and extraordinary learning. But against it there is a series of synchronisms by which we can prove that the era 544/3 must be much older than S. assumes. Moreover the simultaneous alteration of the Saka era is very unlikely. For this and other reasons SESAVATSE's hypothesis was rejected during the discussion following his lecture on the subject. In spite of all the weakness and untrustworthiness of Sinhalese chronology, WICHITTEASINHORE is nevertheless right in taking up a more conservative attitude towards its tradition.

One cause of great uncertainty also lies in the fact that in our calculations we have to rely for the most part on the

<sup>1</sup> See also the detailed analysis of SESAVATSE's hypothesis by C. SCHEUNAUER in "Ceylon zur Zeit der Könige Bhuvanek Bāhu und Franz Xaver 1539—1562" by C. SCHEUNAUER and R. A. VOGELSEN I (1928), p. 97 ff.

figures for the reigns of the individual kings. Here we cannot rule out the possibility that many of these reigns were at least partly contemporaneous, that it is a case of simultaneous or of joint reigns. But the means for establishing this in individual cases are wanting. We have of course to do also with round numbers. When it is e. g. said that such and such a king reigned 12 years, possibly a few extra months have been thrown in. The sum total of such additions produces however, considerable inexactitude.

The main point however, is that our sources often differ more or less in their statements regarding the length of the various reigns, that for many of the kings in the Culāvansha and other documents figures are wanting altogether or can only be obtained approximately by calculation.

Matters are better, at least in my opinion, with the single dates for certain of the more important events, especially those starting with Buddha's Nirvana. I do not deny that some of these dates may have been got at by the authors by the simple process of adding up the years of the reigns. Nevertheless I have the impression that there was a limited number of dates which rested on ancient tradition and had as their starting-point the year of Buddha's death<sup>1</sup>. There are already traces of something like a Buddha era in the Dipavamsa and the Mahāvamsa, as for instance, when it is said in Dip. 17. 78, that Devānampiyatissa was crowned 236 years after Buddha's entry into Nirvana. Or again when in both chronicles (Dip. 6. 1, Mhv. 5. 21) there is the remark that 218 years had elapsed between the Nirvana and the coronation of Asoka.

It is possible that in later times a chronological system was constructed out of these individual dates to which the reigns of the kings were adjusted, not of course without some violence. Then a new confusion arose when at a certain time

<sup>1</sup> I regard also the statement in Mhv. 92. 80 f., that the Abhayagiri-vihāra was founded 217 years, 10 months and 10 days after the Mahā-vihāra as an ancient tradition, though it rests on a different basis. A figure so exact cannot be obtained by mere addition.

through a misunderstanding the cause of which we do not know, the Nirvana of the Buddha was dated back 61 years. At some point or other in the list of the kings this number must be allowed for. Then it is an open question — granted an ancient tradition — whether in converting these single dates into the Christian era we are to start from 483 B. C. or 544/3 B. C.

In the face of all this uncertainty it is advisable in our chronological investigations to rely chiefly on foreign testimony regarding the history of Ceylon. There are above all the synchronisms afforded by Chinese annals and South Indian inscriptions. Then we have the confirmatory evidence of Sinhalese inscriptions, especially those of the medieval and modern times. Subsidiary to these are the single dates. The skeleton framed by this "foreign testimony" is indeed meagre in the extreme and the evidence is unequally distributed. A good deal remains doubtful. The blame lies partly in the method of description of the *Cūlavarṇa* which conceals so much that to us seems particularly important. What a pity, for instance, that it has nothing to say about the relations with China which would seem to have been not inconsiderable. The name of China is not even once mentioned.

I come now to the fine and careful work of Wickramasinghe. When I wrote the preface to Vol. I. of my translation of the *Cūlavarṇa* in which I promised an introduction to the chronology for Vol. II., I had not then seen W.'s "Chronological Table of Ceylon Kings" (EZ. III, p. 1 ff.). Later I had doubts whether a treatment of the same subject by myself might not be superfluous. I think, however, that readers of my translation will be glad to have at hand a list of the kings with their more or less probable dates. They will also like to have a more or less comprehensive survey of the material on which our calculations rest.

One thing more. Wickr. makes no attempt at reconciling the two chronological computations of 483 B. C. and 544/3 B. C. He is apparently convinced that this is at present impossible and wishes to avoid increasing the uncertainty by a new and

again uncertain chronology. In converting into the Christian era he starts as far No. 76 (Kumāradhātusena)<sup>1</sup> from 483 B.C. Up to No. 94 (Dappūla I.) he places the two computations side by side. From No. 95 (Dāthopatissa I.) up to the interregnum after No. 124 (Mahinda V.) he places the figures of the first computation in brackets, thus treating them as less probable and from No. 125 (Kassapa — Vikkamabhu I.) he follows only the era of 544-3 B.C.

Here I venture a step further. I believe namely that the change of the era falls in the earliest period of the Cūlavapasa, that is at the close of the 4th century A.D. Here accordingly is the period where we must allow for the excess of 61 years.

My theory stands and falls with the identity of Ts'a-li Mo-ho-nan of the Chinese annals (L. 88, 89) with King Mahānāma, No. 5 (63). Mo-ho-nan, so it is said, sent a letter, with gifts in the year 428 A.D. to the Chinese Court. This seems to contradict another notice from Chinese sources quoted by L. 75 according to which a king of Ceylon Chi-mi-ki-pa-mo (that is Sri Meghavarman) sent an embassy to the Indian King San-meen-to-lo-kiu-lo (that is Samudragupta) asking permission to build a monastery at Bodh Gayā as shelter for pilgrims from Ceylon. The Sinhalese king Sri Meghavarman is without doubt Sirimeghavapya, No. 1 (59) the first ruler of the so-called Little Dynasty. Samudragupta reigned from 326 — (about) 375 A.D. According to the traditional chronology the reign of Sirimeghavapya is reckoned from 362—389 A.D.

But the Cūlavapasa reckons 79—80 years from the death of Sirimeghavapya to Mahānāma's ascent of the throne which would thus occur at the earliest in 468 A.D. And in fact Wiern. 12 gives the date of 468-490 for Mahānāma's reign. But how does this agree with the other notice giving the year 428 for Mahānāma's embassy?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This — not Kumāradhātusena — is of course the right form of the name. The *dh* is merely periphrastic, "the Dhātusena who begins with Kumāra". See my Transl., note to 41. 35, 41. 6.

<sup>2</sup> I have pointed out the discrepancy Mhs. Transl. p. XI, note 2

Wijesomasinha tries to solve the difficulty by saying: "This (i. e. the embassy) may have taken place probably when Mahānāma was a priest wielding power in Upatissa's reign." This argument is refuted by the fact that Mo-ho-nan is distinctly described as a Ts'a-li, i. e. kshatriya, as king.

The solution of the problem must be sought elsewhere. Both Chinese notices are right, but the numbers given in the Sinhalese sources for the reigns of Sirimeghavarma up to Mahānāma are wrong. Their sum total is 129 to 130 years, but they have been expanded about 60 or 61 years in order to reconcile the old era of 483 B.C. with the new one of 514/5.

It is just here indeed that the traditional dates give the impression of artificial expansion. Buddhadāsa and his two sons (Nos. 61-63) are given a reign of 92/3 years! According to the *Rājācāliya* they even reigned 142 years! These are fantastic figures. Possibly my theory may throw a new light on 37, 100. Suppose we assume that Sirimeghavarma's reign after 362 A.D. was considerably shorter, that perhaps a great part of the 27/8 years allotted to it falls within the period when he was reigning along with Mahāsena or as his rival, we might perhaps follow the reading of the MSS. S. 5, 6, 7 *bhatta* (not *bhātu*) *tassa hanīthako* according to which we should translate: "his youngest brother, Jetthatissa, still a youth, hereupon raised the umbrella of dominion in *Latikā*." It is in any case only very reluctantly that I have decided to depart from the original text.

Be that as it may, if the Chinese notices and the hypothesis I have built on them are right, we must shorten the period between Mahāsena's death and that of Mahānāma by 60 to 61 years and this gives us for Mahānāma's death the year 430 or 431 A.D. Mahānāma, if we keep to the 22 years ascribed to him by tradition, would have reigned from 409—431 A.D.

It is impossible to determine individually how the reigns of Mahāsāna's predecessors were distributed. I pointed out above that we might already begin shortening these with Sirimeghavāhana. Upatissa with his 42 years may be discarded entirely, it seems to me, or at least but a very small portion of his reign be allowed to stand. He may be purely fictitious or perhaps a prince who reigned along with his father and either never came to the throne himself or if so, only for a short period. Here above all when the transition from the one era to the other had been effected, there set in those efforts to adjust the balance by manipulation of the figures.

There is one thing I should like finally to point out. If we go back for the change of the era to Sirimeghavāhana and his immediate successors there is an inherent probability in this. It coincides with the transition from the Mahāvamsa to the Cūlavamsa. That we have here a significant breach in the history of Ceylon, a powerful reaction in favour of the Theravāda after a period of decline can scarcely be disputed.

## LIST OF SINHALESE KINGS

I have made my own list of the kings of the Cūlavamsa, but have added WICKREMASINGHE's figures in brackets. Where former lists differ from my own this has also been indicated in brackets. Thus for instance, (165. Vijayabāhu VI.) means that this king (Cūlava. ed. II. 656 f.) is wanting in my list.—Udaya I. (Dappula II.) means that the king whom I call Udaya I. appears elsewhere as Dappula II.

## ABBREVIATIONS:

M. = Mahāvamsa or from No. 50 onwards Cūlavamsa.  
 Rv. = Rājāvaliya (published and translated by B. GUSSAKARA.)  
 Pv. = Pūjāvaliya (A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, extracted from the Pūjāvaliya, Colombo 1893).  
 Ns. = Nikāyasamgrahaya (ed. WICKREMASINGHE).  
 Rr. = Rājarātānakaraya (ed. SAMANASALA, Colombo 1887).  
 Nar. = Narēndracaritāvalokanapradīpikā as quoted by WICKREMASINGHE.

Figures in italics denote that we have to do with fictitious numbers, whereas the others rest on more or less probable calculation. Figures in bold type are single traditional dates and chiefly those from non-Sinhalese sources or from inscriptions which serve to confirm the chronology of the Mahāvamsa.

The figures in the last column refer to the notes following the list of the kings.

	Length of reign			Date	Notes
	M.	Rv.	Pv.		
1. Mahāvamsa.					
1. Vijaya	38	38	38	483-446 B.C.	1
Interregnum	1	-	-	445-444	
2. Paṇḍuśāśadeva	30	32	30	444-444	
3. Abhaya	26	22	26	444-374	
Interregnum	17	-	-	-	
4. Paṇḍukūbhaya	70	70	70	394-307	
(5. Gaṇatissa)	-	40	-	-	
6. Mutasiva	60	60	60	307-247	
7. Devānampiyatissa	40	40	40	247-207	217
8. Uttiya	10	?	10	207-197	
9. Muhākira	10	?	10	197-187	
10. Sīratissa <sup>1)</sup>	10	10	10	187-177	
11. Sesu	22	22	22	177-155	
12. Guttika	-	-	-	-	
13. Asela <sup>2)</sup>	10	10	10	155-145	
14. Elūra	44	44	44	145-101	
15. Daṭṭhagāmī	24	24	24	101-77	
16. Sañdhikātissa	18	18	18	77-59	
17. Thūbhadrā	- 1 10 1 8	-	1 10	59	
18. Lāṇātissa <sup>3)</sup>	9	15 39	9 6 18	59-40	
19. Khallikāpāṇī	6	-	6	40-48	
20. Vaṭṭagāmī	- 5 -	5	5	48	48
21. Pulahattha	-	-	-	-	
22. Būhiya	-	-	-	-	
23. Panayamāra	14 7	14	8 7	43-29	
24. Pijayamāra	-	-	-	-	
25. Daṭṭhika	-	-	-	-	
(26.) Vaṭṭagāmī	12	12	12	29-17	3
26. Mahācūḍīmāhātissa	14	50	14	17-3	
27. Coranāga	12	-	12	3 B. C. - 9 A. D.	4
28. Tissa	8	8	8	9-12 A. D.	

<sup>1)</sup> Rv. mentions two sons of Devānampiyatissa, 1) Sīratissa, 2) Upatissa, each of whom reigned 10 years. It then says that in the days of King Uttiya two usurpers reigned the power and reigned 22 years.

<sup>2)</sup> As to the chronological difficulties regarding Asela, see Wickr. p. 5, n. 1.

<sup>3)</sup> Rv. calls the successor of Tissa King Lāṇātissa who had slain him and reigned 99 years. Then it passes on the Vaṭṭagāmībhu. The Pv. also calls Tissa's successor Lāṇātissa.

	Length of reign			Date	Note
	M.	Rv.	Pr.		
29. <i>Ānulā</i>	4 3 —	3 4 —	5 2 —	12—16 A. D.	
30. <i>Kuśakumārtissa</i>	22 — —	22 — —	22 — —	16—58	
31. <i>Dhātikālīdaya</i>	29 — —	19 — —	19 — —	58—66	
32. <i>Mahādālīkamā- līnāga</i>	12 — —	12 — —	12 — —	66—79	
33. <i>Āmaṇīlagāmāya</i>	9 8 —	9 — —	9 8 —	79—89	
34. <i>Kuṭīṇārūtissa</i>	3 — —	— — —	3 — —	89—92	
35. <i>Cūlālīdaya</i>	1 — —	— — —	1 — —	92—93	
36. <i>Sīvātī</i> <sup>1</sup>	— 4 —	— — —	— 4 —	93	
37. <i>Ījanīga</i> <sup>1</sup>	9 — —	— — —	6 — —	93—102	
38. <i>Candamukhadeva</i>	8 7 —	— — —	8 7 —	103—112	
39. <i>Vāratālīkātissa</i>	7 8 —	— — —	7 8 —	112—120	
40. <i>Sobhārūja</i>	6 — —	— — —	6 — —	120—126	
41. <i>Vāsabha</i>	14 — —	14 — —	14 — —	127—171	
42. <i>Vāñčānālīkātissa</i>	3 — —	3 — —	3 — —	171—174	
43. <i>Gajabūhugāmāya</i>	22 — —	24 — —	22 — —	174—196	
44. <i>Mahullānāga</i>	6 — —	6 — —	6 — —	196—203	
45. <i>Bhātikātissa</i>	21 — —	21 — —	21 — —	203—221	
46. <i>Kāṇītātissa</i>	18 — —	— — —	13 — —	227—245	
47. <i>Khujānāga</i> <sup>2</sup>	2 — —	— — —	2 — —	245—246	
48. <i>Kuṭānāga</i>	1 — —	20 — —	1 — —	248—249	
49. <i>Sīrinīga</i> I.	19 — —	— — —	18 — —	249—268	
50. <i>Vohdikātissa</i>	22 — —	22 — —	22 — —	269—291	
51. <i>Abhayānāga</i>	8 — —	2 — —	8 — —	291—299	
52. <i>Sīrinīga</i> II.	2 — —	2 — —	2 — —	300—302	
53. <i>Vijayakumāra</i>	1 — —	6 — —	1 — —	302—303	
54. <i>Snāghatissa</i>	4 — —	4 — —	4 — —	303—307	
55. <i>Sīrisarphaghādhī</i>	2 — —	2 — —	2 — —	307—308	
56. <i>Gothālīdaya</i>	13 — —	13 — —	13 — —	308—322	
57. <i>Jyothitissa</i> I.	10 — —	10 — —	10 — —	323—333	
58. <i>Mahāsenā</i>	27 — —	24 — —	27 — —	334—361/2 362 3	

<sup>1</sup> Wiernasz is wrong when he says on p. 8 that I had overlooked the fact that *Ījanīga* was deposed in the first year of his reign by the *īasabhaṇyas*. I inserted the three years (Mv. 55, 27) duration of the *īasabhaṇya* Mv. Transl. p. xxvii, last line, as "interregnum". When W. takes the round figure of 10 years for the interregnum to *Ījanīga*'s reign, I can only approve.

<sup>2</sup> According to Rv. Bhātikātissa's successors were: 1) *Kuṭānāga* (20 years), 2) *Vāratālī* (22 years), 3) *Abhayānāga* (2 years). Then *Sīrinīga* (= No. 52) reigned 2 years.

	M.	Length of reign			Date	Page
		Yrs.	M.	D.		
<b>2. Cūlavamsa</b>						
1. (59.) Sisimugha-vanu	28 c — —	28	— —	28	— —	6
2. (60.) Jettilatam II.	9	— —	10	— —	9 1 — —	302—303 412
3. (61.) Buddhadūsa	29 c — —	30	— —	29	— —	7
4. (62.) Upatissa I.	42	— —	42	— —	42	— —
5. (63.) Mahāsūra	22	— —	20	— —	22	— —
6. (64.) Suddhivana	— — 1	— — 1	— — 1	— — 1	431	
7. (65.) Chittagābha	1 c — —	1	— —	1	— —	431—432
8. (66.) Mihāsena	1	— —	6	— —	1	— —
9. (67.) Pāṇḍu <sup>1)</sup>						
10. (68.) Purindu						
11. (69.) Khuḍḍagārāmha	27	— —	— —	27	— —	433—460
12. (70.) Tīrītāra						
13. (71.) Dālābhiya						
14. (72.) Pīṭibya						
15. (73.) Dīnītesena <sup>2)</sup>	18	— —	18	— —	18	— —
16. (74.) Kassapa I. <sup>3)</sup>	16 c — —	16	— —	16	— —	478—496
17. (75.) Moggallāna I.	18 c — —	18	— —	18	— —	496—513
18. (76.) Kumārañdhutāraṇu	9 c — —	9	— —	9	— —	513—522 515
19. (77.) Kittisena <sup>4)</sup>	— 9 — 9	— —	— 9 —	— 9 —	522	
20. (78.) Sīra I.	— — 26	26	— —	— — 25	522	
21. (79.) Upatissa II. <sup>5)</sup>	1 6 — —	1	10 —	1 6 —	523—524	
22. (80.) Silākūla	12 c — —	13	— —	13	— —	524—537 527 10, 11
23. (81.) Daṭṭhāpahāti	— 6 6 — 6	— 6 —	— 6 —	— 6 —	537	
24. (82.) Moggallāna II.	20 c — —	20	— —	20	— —	537—556
25. (83.) Kittisicimēgha	— — 19	19	— —	19	— —	556

1) For Nos. 9—14 (67—72) Pv. has also 27 years.

2) Pv. has the same number of years.

3) I do not think that Wicke is right when he follows Pv. in giving 9 years instead of nine months to No. 19 (77). There are other instances of the Sinhalese sources giving years instead of the months or days of the Mhvs. (No. 20, 25, 38), people being accustomed to reckon by years. We have no example of the reverse. Moreover with regard to No. 19 (77) Pv. agrees with the Mhvs. It seems to me that it is only in cases where both Pv. and Pv. together are against the Mhvs. that weight attaches to their statements. Wicke's reference to the reading *passanī* in 8 5 is no help. It is so isolated in comparison with the other MSS. that it is clearly a mere slip of the scribe.

4) According to Nar. 2 p. 6 m.

	Length of reign			Date	No.
	M.	Re.	P.		
26. (81a) Mahānāga	3c	—	3	—	556-559
— (84b) Lāmīnī Singānā	—	—	9	—	559-568
27. (85.) Aggabodhi I.	31c	—	30	—	568-601
28. (86.) Aggabodhi II.	10c	—	10	—	601-611
29. (87.) Sariputtissa	—	2	—	2	611
30. (88.) Moggallāna III.	6	—	6	—	611-617
31. (89.) Sūlameghavāya	9	—	9	—	617-626
32. (90.) Aggabodhi III. SSB.	16	—	16	—	
33. (91.) Jetthatissa III. Aggabodhi IV.	—	5	—	5	
34. (92.) Dāthopatissa I.	12	—	12	—	
35. (93.) Kassapa II.	9	—	9	—	641-650
36. (94.) Dappula I. (1)	—	7	10	—	650
37. (95.) Dāthopatissa II.	9c	—	9	—	650-658
38. (96.) Aggabodhi IV. SSB.	16c	—	16	—	658-674
39. (97.) Datta <sup>2)</sup>	2	—	10	—	674-676
40. (98.) Hathadātāha	—	6	—	6	676
41. (99.) Mānusamīra	—	30	—	35	—
42. (100.) Aggabodhi V.	6	—	6	—	711-717
43. (101.) Kassapa III.	—	7	—	7	—
44. (102.) Mahinda I.	3	—	3	—	724-727
45. (103.) Aggabodhi VI. SMV.	40c	—	40	—	727-766
46. (104.) Aggabodhi VII.	6	—	6	—	766-772
47. (105.) Mahinda II. SMV.	20	—	20	—	772-793
48. (106.) Udaya I. (Dappula II.)	5	—	5	—	792-797
49. (107.) Mahinda III. SMV.	4	—	7	—	797-801
50. (108.) Aggabodhi VIII.	11	—	11	—	801-812
51. (109.) Dappula II. (III.)	16	—	12	—	812-828
52. (110.) Aggabodhi IX.	3	—	—	3	—
53. (111.) Sena I. SMV.	20	—	—	20	—
54. (112.) Sena II.	35c	—	35	—	881-885
55. (113.) Udaya II. (I.)	11	—	40	—	885-890
56. (114.) Kassapa IV. SSB.	17	—	—	17	—
57. (115.) Kassapa V. SMV.	10c	—	6	—	913-923
58. (116.) Dappula III. (IV.)	—	7	—	7	923
59. (117.) Dappula IV. (V.)	12c	—	12	—	923-931

1) The Maha. does not count the three years' reign in Rohaya.

2) According to Nos. No. 99 (97) reigned 2 y. 6 m.

	Length of reign			Date	No.
	M.	Rv.	Pv.		
60. (118.) Udāya III. (II.)	3½	—	8	—	934-937
61. (119.) Sena III. 4	9	—	9	—	937-945
62. (120.) Udāya IV. (III.)	8	—	8	—	945-958
63. (121.) Sena IV.	3	—	3	—	958-956
64. (122.) Mahinda IV. SSB.	10	—	12	—	956-972
65. (123.) Sena V.	10	—	10	—	972-981
66. (124.) Mahinda V.	36	—	48	—	981-1029
Interregnum	12	—	18	—	
67. (125.) Vikramāditya I. (Kasānpal)	12	—	12	—	1029-1041
68. (126.) Kitti	—	7	—	—	1041
69. (127.) Mahālānakitti	3	—	3	—	1041-1014
70. (128.) Vikramapāṇḍya	1	—	3	—	1044-1047
71. (129.) Jagutpāla	4	—	1	—	1047-1051
72. (130.) Parakkamapāṇḍya I	2	—	6	—	1051-1053
73 a. (131.) Loka (Lokisāra)	6	—	—	—	1053-1059
73 b. (132.) Kassapa?	—	6	—	—	1059
74. (133.) Vijayabāhu I. SSB	55	—	80	—	1059-1114
75. (134.) Jayabāhu I.	—	—	9	—	1114-1116
76. (135.) Vikramāditya II. (I.)	21	—	26	—	1116-1137
77. (136.) Gajabāhu (II.)	22	—	—	—	1137-1159
78. (137.) Parakkamāditya II. SSB.	33	—	32	—	1159-1196
79. (138.) Vijayabāhu II.	1	—	—	1	1196-1197
80. (139.) Mahinda VI.	—	5	—	5	1197
81. (140.) Nissākāmalla	0	—	9	—	1197-1198
82. (141.) Virabāhu I.	—	1	—	—	1198
83. (142.) Vikramāditya III. (II.)	—	9	—	9	1198
84. (143.) Cūḍagāiga	—	9	—	9	1198-1197

1) In Rājāv., the sequence of Nos. 69-65 (117-124) is as follows: 1. Dāpula 12 y. (evidently = No. 59, Dāppula IV.), 2. Udā 8 y., 3. Sen 3 y., 4. Udā 3 y., 5. Sen 9 y., 6. Sen 9 y., 7. Mihālānakitti 12 y., 8. Salāmevan 10 y. (= No. 65), 9. Mihālānakitti 48 y. (= Mahinda V. No. 66). — Pāṇīv. has 1. Dāpula 12 y., 2. Udā 8 y., 3. Sen 9 y., 4. Udā 8 y., 5. Sen 9 y., 6. Sen 3 y., 7. Mihālānakitti 16 y., 8. Salāmevan 10 y., 9. Mihālānakitti 48 y.

2) Having regard to Mbva. 57, 66 and 74, it is advisable to insert the Kaśadhiśāmīyaka Kassapa as a distinct sovereign after Loka.

3) Rājāv. and Pāṇīv. do not mention Gajabāhu at all as king.

	Length of reign.			Date	No.	
	M.	Br.	Pv.			
85. (144.) Līlāvati <sup>1)</sup>	9	—	9	—	1197-1200	
86. (145.) Sūrasamalla	2	—	9	—	1200-1202	1200
87. (146.) Kalyāṇavatī <sup>2)</sup>	0	—	6	—	1202-1208	24
88. (147.) Dharmāśoka	1	—	6	—	1208-1209	
89. (148.) Antikāṅga Līlāvati <sup>3)</sup>	—	17	—	17	—	1209
90. (149.) Lokisarū (11.) Līlāvati <sup>1)</sup>	—	9	—	5	—	1210-1211
91. (150.) Parakkamapāṇḍu (12.)	3	—	3	—	1211-1214	
92. (151.) Māgha	21	—	19	—	1214-1235	
93. (152.) Vijayabūlā (11.)	4	—	24	—	1232-1236	
94. (153.) Parakkamabūlā (11.)	36	—	32	—	1246-1271	1246
95. (154.) Vijayabūlā (IV.)	2	—	—	—	1271-1273	
96. (155.) Bhuvanekabāhu I.	11	—	—	—	1273-1284	1283
97. (156.) Parakkamabūlā (III.)	—	—	—	—	1284-1291	
98. (157.) Bhuvanekabāhu (11.) <sup>4)</sup>	—	—	—	—	1291-1292	
99. (158.) Parakkamabūlā (IV.) <sup>4)</sup>	—	—	—	—		
100. (159.) Bhuvanekabāhu (III.)	—	—	—	—	1292-1346	
101. (160.) Vijayabūlā V.	—	—	—	—		
102. (161.) Bhuvanekabāhu (IV.)	—	—	—	—	1346-1353	1350
103. (162.) Parakkamabāhu V.	—	—	—	—	1349-1360	1354
104. (163.) Vijayabūlā (V.) (III.)	—	—	—	—	1347-1355	1360
105. (164.) Bhuvanekabāhu V.	20	—	—	—	1360-1391	1365
106. (165.) Virabāhu II. (166. Vijayabūlā VI.)	—	—	—	—	1391-1397	1396
(167. Parakkamabāhu)	—	—	—	—		31
107. (168.) Parakkamabāhu VI	52	—	53	—	1410-1468	39
SSR.						
108. (169.) Jayabāhu II.	—	—	—	—	1468-1473	
109. (170.) Bhuvanekabāhu VI.	7	—	7	—	1473-1480	1475
110. (171.) Parakkamabāhu VII.	—	—	—	—	1480-1484	
111. (172.) Parakkamabāhu VIII.	—	—	20	—	1484-1518	
(173. Parakkamabāhu IX.)	—	—	23	—	1500-1549	95

1) The first time Līlāvati reigned along with Kitti, the second time with Vikkantīcūtēnakkā, finally alone.

2) Along with Āyasmanta Cūṇḍīputri.

3) Reigned according to Br. 24 years. According to Dañjāśīrī (Wicksy No. 97 and 98 (156 and 157) reigned at times together. Wicksy reckons the sum total of their reigns at 16 years.

4) Wicksy reckons the beginning of the reign as 1303 A. D.

	Length of reign			Date	No. 3
	Yrs.	Mo.	Per.		
112. (174.) Vijayabahu VI. (VIL)	18	7	—	1509—1521	86
113. (175.) Bhavunekuladâlu VII.	21	—	—	1521—1550	97
114. (175 d.) Vîravîkrama I.	15	7	—	1549—5	88
115. (176.) Mâyâdhanu I. (176. Dharmapâla)	70	—	—	1521—1581	89
116. (177.) Râjaśîla I.	—	—	—	1581—1593	
117. (178.) Vimâluhannu- suriya I.	—	12	—	1592—1604	
118. (179.) Senârulânu	7	—	25	—	1604—1635
119. (180.) Râjaśîla II.	52	—	—	1635—1687	
120. (181.) Vimâluhannu- suriya II.	22	—	—	1687—1707	
121. (182.) Vîrapânakâthâ- marindâsîha	23	—	—	1707—1739	
122. (183.) Sîrîvîjayarâjâsîha	9	—	—	1739—1747	
123. (184.) Kîlîsîvîjîrâjâsîha	22	—	—	1747—1782	40
124. (185.) Sîrîvîjâdhîrâjâsîha	18	—	—	1780—1799	
125. (186.) Sîrîvîkkumârâjâsîha	18	—	—	1798—1815	

<sup>1)</sup> In the middle of the 16th century a number of princes reigned at the same time in different parts of the Island. The most eminent of these was Mâyâdhanu, the Mâyâdhanu of Rv. The Vîravîkrama of Mh. 92, 6 is probably identical with Kîlîsîva Hañdâra (Rv.). In addition to these Jayavîra Bañjâra who wielded power in the Highlands and Râjaśîla or Ruyâgum Bañjâra are mentioned as contemporaries.

### Residences

1. Mahâvâpiya: Nr. 1: Tambulapura. — Nr. 2, 3: Upatissagâma (H. 52). — Nr. 4—58: Anurâdhapura.
2. Cîlîvîjâ: Nr. 1 (59)—15 (74): Anurâdhapura. — Nr. 16 (74): Sihagiri. — Nr. 17 (75)—65 (120): Anurâdhapura | Pulaththînagara temporary residence of Nr. 46 (104) and Nr. 63 (111); Pulaththînagara and Rohana of Nr. 65 (125). — Nr. 67 (126)—73b (127): Rohana. — Nr. 74 (135)—92 (151): Pulaththînagara. — Nr. 93 (152): Jambukolâ. — Nr. 94 (163): Jambudduyî (Pulaththînagara 88, 29 f.). — Nr. 95 (164): Pulaththînagara. — Nr. 96 (155): Jambuddhoni (Sihagiri 98, 42). — Nr. 97 (156): Pulaththînagara (H. 56). — Nr. 98 (157) —101 (160): Hañdârapura. — Nr. 102 (161)—104 (163): Gañgâśripara. — Nr. 105 (162)—112 (176): Jambuddhoni. — Nr. 111 (176 d.): Sîrîvîjâdhâna. — Nr. 115 (175 d)—118 (177): Sihagiri. — Nr. 117 (178)—125 (180): Sîrîvîkkumâra.



## NOTES

1. The first traditional synchronism is that of the landing of Vijaya on the Island with the Nirvana of Buddha. Mhvs. 6. 47, Dip. 9. 40. It makes the impression of having been purposely invented that the event might thereby have a greater significance. But it would be a mistake if for that reason we were to regard as inventions those single dates referring to later kings (Devānampiyatissa and Vattagāmī). For here we start not from Vijaya but only from the Nirvana. But the reigns of the kings between Vijaya and Devānampiyatissa seem to have been manipulated in order to obtain the synchronism Vijaya-Nirvana.

2. A seemingly ancient tradition makes Devānampiyatissa a contemporary<sup>1</sup> of the Maurya king Asoka. There is no urgent reason for doubting the fact. According to Dip. 17. 78, Devānampiyatissa was consecrated as king<sup>2</sup> 236 years (that is in the 237th year) after the Nirvana. This figure corresponds to the sum of the years which according to Dip. and Mhvs. had elapsed since Vijaya. If we take the date arrived at by Fleet for Buddha's death — 483 B. C. we get the year 247/6 B. C. as Devānampiyatissa's coronation year and the fact of his being a contemporary of Asoka is confirmed.

3. According to Na., p. 10<sup>3</sup> Valagam Abū came to the throne 439 y. 9 m. 10 d. after the Nirvana<sup>4</sup>. This gives us 43 B. C. This agrees with the statement of Mv. 33. 80 f. as

<sup>1</sup> For further details of my view, Mhvs., Introd. p. lxxi ff.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Na., p. 2<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also EZ. II. 205.

to the foundation of the *Abhaya-vihāra*<sup>1</sup>. According to the statement in *Mhv*, the foundation took place 217 y. 10 m. 10 d. after that of the *Mahāvihāra* the date of which is, according to *Fuer*, in May 246. Therefore the *Abhayangiri-vihāra* was founded in March 28 B.C., after *Vatthagāmī* had had regained the kingdom.

4. According to Pv. a famine called *hūmī-siya* took place under *Coruṅga* and lasted three years.<sup>2</sup> This is said to have coincided with the beginning of the *Saka* era 78 A. D. = 622 A. B. The statement cannot be reconciled with the other events of the chronology. It would seem that the tradition about this famine was uncertain, for it is placed by Pv. 19<sup>a</sup> in the reign of *Vatthagāmī*.

5. For the end of the reign of *Mahāsena* and therewith of the so-called Great Dynasty Pv. and Rr. agree in giving 814 y. (Pv. 246) 9 m. 25 d. after the Nirvana. Rr. 14<sup>a</sup> reckons the beginning of the reign as 818 A. B., so that with a reign of 27 years the end would fall in 845 A. B. This seems to me in fact one of those single dates which rest on a sure traditional basis. This is also easy to understand. The tradition was that of the Bhikkhus of the *Mahāvihāra* and for them the death of *Mahāsena* meant the end of a period of persecution and the beginning of a new period of prosperity. In *Mhv*, transl. p. xxxviii I have calculated the year of *Mahāsena*'s death as 332 A. D. The difference between it and that of Wickr. and S. can be adjusted by assuming that the round numbers of a reign usually include some extra months.

6. I refer the reader to the Chinese account mentioned on p. V which makes *Sirimeghavayya* a contemporary of the Indian king *Samudragupta* (326-375 A. D.).

7. Fa-hian comes to Ceylon 411-412 A. D. A therā mentioned by him is perhaps identical with the *Mahādhammakanthi* named in *Mhv*, 37, 175 (cf. note to the passage) as living

<sup>1</sup> See *Mhv*, transl., p. xxix f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *SEYVATERE*, JRAS, C. B. xvi, No. 67 (1914), p. 216.

under Buddhadāsa (Ayuros, JRAS. 1911, p. 1142). Of course this thera may have survived Buddhadāsa, as the chronology seems to indicate.

8. For Mahānāma's reign Chinese sources furnish us with an exact date A. D. 428. See above p. V ff. For the arrival of Buddhaghosa in the reign of Mahānāma tradition furnishes us with a date which assuming 544/5 as the year of the Nirvana, yields 412/3 A. D.

9. For Kumāradhātusena's (Kumārādī) reign a Chinese notice mentioned by Tāryasī<sup>1</sup> will serve. It says: "In the year 515 on the occasion of Kuninea Das raising the cbatto, an envoy was despatched with tribute to China." Unfortunately Tāryasī does not state whether the name of the Sinhalese king is mentioned in the Chinese account. Possibly it is a deduction of his own. At any rate according to my own calculation, the year 515 would fall in the beginning of the reign of Kumārendhātusena.

10. A further Chinese notice quoted by L. (see p. 91 f.) offers difficulties. According to this, an embassy of the Sinhalese king Kia-che Kia-lo-ha-li-ya brought tribute to the Chinese Court in the y. 537 A. D. As a rule Kia-che is the transcription of the name Kassapa. But it is impossible that this could be Kassapa I, since he reigned before Kumāradhātusena (see note 9). S. Levi has already pointed out that the second name Kia-lo-ha-li-ya might refer to Silākāla (Ambacherapa Salameyan). It should be noted too, that Silākāla was the son-in-law of Upatissa II. (III.) and that according to Mhv. 41. 8 ff., this king had a son called Kassapa who was Silākāla's most dangerous rival. It might therefore be assumed that the Chinese account had confused these two persons or that the Sinhalese tradition had made out of one Kassapa Silākāla two individuals.

11. For Silākāla we have one more single date handed down in the Ns. p. 17<sup>23</sup>: 1088 A. B. = 544/5 A. D. Accord-

<sup>1</sup> Ceylon, 2nd ed. I, p. 896.

ing to Wicke, this date refers to the introduction of the *Vetulla Canon* (*dharmadhatu*)<sup>1</sup> which according to Na., Re. and Mbvs., took place in the twelfth year of the king's reign. This does not quite agree with our chronology, for according to Na. the beginning of Sīhākāla's reign would fall in 532/3 A. D. (instead of 524)<sup>2</sup>. If we might assume an error in the tradition and read 1080 instead of 1088 A. B. there would be complete agreement.

12. According to Mbvs. 42, 44 ff., the king of Kalinga came to Ceylon in the reign of Aggabodhi II. and entered the Order under the guidance of the Thera Jotipāla. According to H. W. Cousineros (HC. p. 35, 51) this King of Kalinga had been driven out by Pulakesin II. of the Cālukya dynasty who had seized the kingdom of Kalinga. This took place according to JOURVÉ-DUMEROL, 609 A. D. This year must therefore fall within the reign of Aggabodhi II.

13. According to Mbvs. 47, 33 ff., Mānavamma tries in vain to wrest the dominion over Ceylon from King Dūthopatissa II. He is helped in this by his friend Narasīha at whose court in Jambudīpa he had taken refuge. According to H. p. 557, this is the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I. who reigned 630-668 A. D. This enables us to fix an approximate date for Dūthopatissa II.

14. From Chinese sources (L.) we know that in the y. 718/9 a Chinese pilgrim Vajrabodhi visited Ceylon and was received with honour by King Chi-li Chi-lo. The name of the king as it is given here, may very well be an abbreviation of Siri-Silāmegha(vanu). L. suggests Mānavamma, who also had the birudu of Silāmegha. Aremo (Ceylon Notes and Queries II, Jan. 1914, p. xvii ff.) quite rightly objects to this for chronological reasons. But his own identification with Aggabodhi VI. also offers difficulties with my calculation as well as with that of Wicke and S. I suggest Kassapa III, No. 43 (10).

<sup>1</sup> See my transl. Cūlava, I, note to 41, 37.

<sup>2</sup> According to Br. 1088 A. B. = 932 (sic!) after the introduction of Buddha's doctrine, was the date for Sīhākāla's ascent of the throne.

As we know, the biruda of Silamegha alternates with that of Sirisamghabodhi. Since Kassapa III. was the second predecessor of Aggabodhi VI. who was certainly called Silamegha (Mhvs. 48. 42), he is almost sure to have had the same surname, though this may not be expressly stated. All we know of him is that he was a very pious prince (Mhvs. 48. 20 ff.).

15. There is no difficulty about the two embassies of King Chi-lo-mi-kin to the Chinese Court in the years 742 and 746. That king was Aggabodhi VI. Silamegha, No. 45 (103).

16. Inscriptions of the 1st and 16th years (according to my calculation therefore 896, 912) of the reign of Kassapa IV., No. 56 (114) in Wikkamasthane, EZ. II. 9 ff., I. 200 ff.; H. C. P. Bell, *Anurādhapura*, 7th Progress Report 1891 (= S. P. xii. 1896) p. 60.

17. According to Mhvs. 52. 70 ff., Kassapa V. undertakes with the Pāṇḍyas an expedition against the Colas. It is unsuccessful. There is evidently an allusion to this (H. p. 525 f.) in the Udayendiram inscription of the 15th year of the Cola king Parāntaka I. = 921/2. In it he boasts of his victory over the Pāṇḍyas and over an army come from Iankā. In an inscription, discussed by H. B. Banerji *Vesakavva*, of the 12th year of the same king's reign this twofold success is also mentioned.

18. Under Udaya IV. (III.) No. 62 (120), there was an incursion of the Colas into Ceylon who wished to seize the regalia of the Pāṇḍya king deposited there under Dappula IV. (V.) (Mhvs. 53. 9, 40 ff.). Anurādhapura was taken it is true, but the main object was not attained, as Udaya had taken the treasures to Rohaga for safety. According to H. 524 f. this event took place in the last year of the reign of Parāntaka I., and R. B. Vesakavva has proved that it is only in his latest inscriptions of 943/4 to 947/8 that this king calls himself "Conqueror of Ceylon".

19. According to Mhvs. 54. 11 ff. the troops of the Vāllabha king made an unsuccessful incursion into Ceylon under Ma-

hindu IV. No. 64 (122). COWINERES (HC. p. 39, 53) supposes this to be the Cola prince Parāntaka II. whose general was defeated in 960. This date therefore falls in the reign of No. 64 (122).

20. Of Mahinda V. No. 66 (124) it is related in Mhv. 55, 16 that in the 16th year of his reign the Colas carried off him, his queen and all his treasure to India. H. 522 ff. assumes that this king was Rajendra-Cola who boasts of having captured the crowns of the king and of the queens of Ceylon. He first mentions the conquest of Ceylon in 1017/8 but not in the inscriptions of the foregoing year. The year 1017 is therefore that of Mahinda's capture.

21. The Cola king Rajadhirajadeva relates (H. 529 ff.) in an inscription of the year 1046 that he had deprived 4 kings of Ceylon of their crowns: a) Vikramabahu, b) Vikramapāṇḍya, c) Virakalamegha and d) Srivallabhamadanaśa. This clearly refers to events related in Mhv. 56. Here the following kings are mentioned as being at war with the Colas: 1) Vikramabahu, No. 67 (125) — a<sup>1</sup>, 2) Kitti, 3) Mahālānakitti, 4) Vikramapāṇḍya — b, 5) Jagatipala, 6) Parakkama. Of 3, 5, and 6 it is distinctly stated that they were slain in battle with the Colas, of 2 it is said besides that his crown fell as booty to the Damijas. Nos. 1 and 4 however, whose names are clearly recognizable in Rajadhirāja's inscription, ended otherwise; No. 1 died of a disease, No. 4 in combat with No. 5. Still their crowns may have been among the booty. At any rate the year 1046 falls in that period; the events may have reached their conclusion about 1050.

22. For Vijayabahu I. No. 74 (123) to Parakkamabahu I. No. 78 (137) I refer the reader to WICKERASINGHE's excellent treatment of the subject in EZ. I, p. 122 ff. and II, 205 ff.

<sup>1</sup> I should now prefer to read in Mhv. 56, 6 *Desanipūra* instead of *d*<sup>2</sup> and translate "he betook himself to Devanagara (Bhondra) and entered the company of the gods."

23. For Parakkamabāhu's campaign against Kānūnha (Mhs. 76, 10 ff.) cf. H. C. P. Bell, Rep. on the Kéggala Dist., p. 73 ff. It took place in the 12th year of his reign. The Rāmaṇīya prince Bhuvanodittha named in the Deranagala inscription, is identified by Bell with the king Narahaditshi-ti-thu who reigned 1167—1204 (Phayre, History of Burma, p. 50, 281, 289).

24. The coronation day of Sabazamalla ist the earliest absolutely certain date in Sinhalese history. In the Polonnaruva inscription of this king (EZ. II, p. 219 ff.) the date given for the event is Wednesday (*boda*), the 12th day of the light half of the month Binera (August-Sept.), after the expiration of 1743 y., 3 m. and 27 days of the Buddha era. FER (JRAS. 1909, p. 327, 331) has calculated the date as Wednesday, 23rd August, 1200 A. D.

25. According to the *Abhanagaluvara Parakkamabāhu II.*, No. 94 (153), came to the throne in the year 1824 after the Sarphodhi = 1779 A. B. = 1235/6 A. D. according to S. 155 = 1296 A. D. (reckoned from 483 B. C., not from 544/5 B. C., as the year of the Nirvana).

26. According to Mhs. 90, 43 ff. the Tooth Relic came in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu I, No. 96 (155), into the possession of the Pāḍya king Kulakēkhara. This king reigned (H.) 1268—1308 A. D. Under Bhuvanekabāhu's successor Parakkamabāhu III. the relic is restored by friendly negotiation. Coomaras (JRAS. C. B. xxviii, No. 72, 1919, p. 82 ff.) refers to Maqrizi's account of a Sinhalese embassy to the Egyptian Court in the year 1283 A. D. and identifies the name of the Sinhalese king mentioned in the account with that of Bhuvanekabāhu I.

27. For Bhuvanekabāhu IV., No. 102 (161), the Lankātīkā inscription is important. See B. Gosakara, JRAS. C. B. X, No. 34 (1857) p. 83 ff.; H. C. P. Bell, Kéggala Dist., p. 92; Wicks, 29 ff. It gives Śaka 1264 = 1342 A. D. as the year of his ascent of the throne. According to Mhs. 90, 108 (also Na., Nar.) 1394 A. B. = 1350/1 was the 4th year of his reign,

the beginning of the reign therefore 1346/7. The difference is probably due to the fact that his appointment as *yuvārāja* took place in the y. 1342, this event being often reckoned as the beginning of the reign. According to *Compt. Rec.* (H.C. p. 82) No. 102 (161) reigned at least until 1353/4.

28. Cf. the preceding note also for *Parakkamabāhu V.*, No. 103 (162). According to the *Hapugastenne* inscription (J.R.A.S. C. B. xxii, No. 65, 1912, p. 362) the 11th year of his reign was = *Saka* 1281 expired = 1359/60 A. D. The first year of his reign would be accordingly *Saka* 1270 = 1348/9 A. D. But at that time No. 102 (161) was reigning and his successor probably *yuvārāja*. In the *Vegiri-devale* inscription (Wiccr.) *Parakkamabāhu V.* in 1351/2 still calls himself *śpā*.

29. The *Vigulavatta* inscription (H. C. P. Bell, *Koggala* Dist., p. 78) gives *Saka* 1282 = 1360/1 A. D. as the 4th year of the reign of *Vikramabāhu IV.* (H.C.) No. 104 (163). His reign would accordingly have begun in *Saka* 1278 = 1356/7 A. D. This agrees with the *Niyamgamapūra* inscription (Wiccr. 31) which gives the 17th year of his reign as 1316 A. B. = 1373 4 A. D.

30. For *Bhuvanekabāhu V.*, No. 105 (164), we have several dates. Cf. S. 174 f., Wiccr. 31 f. The most important are: a) according to Ns. 1929 A. B. = 1385/6 A. D. was the 14th year of his reign which makes 1371/2 that of his coronation. — b) according to Mhvs. 91. 13 (Ns. also) he is succeeded after 20 years (thus in 1391) by *Virabāhu*. — c) according to the *Vegiri-devale* inscription, Bh. V. made an endowment in the 30th year of his reign. He must therefore have lived at least 10 years after 1391 and claimed the royal dignity. Mhvs. 91. 13 would not agree with this if we were to assume the reading *holeko* (not *śālko* with Col. Ed.); for the passage would then state that only after his (i. e. *Bhuvanekabāhu's*) death (*sañchite kāle*) *Virabāhu* of the *Alukēvara* family, seized the power.

31. Ns. 30<sup>th</sup> Council under the leadership of *Dhammadikitti* 1339 A. B. expired = 1396 A. D.

32. *Vijayabāhu VI.*, No. (166), is not mentioned in the Mhvs. The chronicle ignoring the tragic end of the *Alangakonāras*,

jumps over to Parakkamabāhu VI. I refer the reader to the note to 91. 9 of my translation. Dates according to L. (JRAS. C. B. xxv, No. 68, 1915-6, p. 96 E.): 1405, arrival of the Chinese Tcheng-houo in Ceylon; 1409 Tcheng-houo comes again to Ceylon and carries the king (No. 166) captive to China. The king is set free again in 1411 or 1412, but murdered the night after his return.

33. For Parakkamabāhu VI., No. 107 (168), we have again several dates. The most important are the following: a) ascent of the throne according to Mhv. 91, 15 as well as the inscription of Embekke-devale (H. C. P. Bell, Ceylon Notes and Queries, viii, Dec. 1916, p. cxix) H.): 1953 A. B. = 1409/10 A. D. (according to other sources and to Waka. 2 years or 5 years later). — b) Chinese accounts (in TESSIET, Ceylon I, p. 670 f.), that in the year 1459 A. D. a king of Ceylon Pu-la-ko-ma Bu-zae La-cha had for the last time sent tribute to China. The king was evidently No. 107 (168). In the years 1416 and 1421 A. D. it is even related that the King of Ceylon brought the tribute in person.

34. With regard to the date for Bhuvanekabāhu VI., No. 109 (170), the Kalyani inscription of King Rāmādhipati of Pegu is important in that it mentions his embassy to King Bhuvanekabāhu, the son of Parakkamabāhu, in the Śaka year 837<sup>1</sup> = 2019 A. B. = 1476 A. D. Cf. COOMAROS, HC. p. 93; 100; Taw Seik Ko, Indian Antiquary xxx, 1893, p. 11 ff., 29 ff. &c.

35. According to the Kelaniya inscription (AIC. No. 162) Parakkamabāhu IX., No. (173), ascended the throne in 2051 A. B.<sup>2</sup> = 1507/8 A. D. The 12th year of his reign fell according to the Muṇessaram Sannasa, in 2060 A. B., giving 1514<sup>3</sup> for his ascent of the throne, thus a difference of three years.

36. According to the Dendera inscription (H. C. P. Bell, Kęgalla Dist. p. 85 f.) the Śaka year 1432 = 1510 A. D. fell in the year after the 4th year of the reign of King Vijayabāhu VI.,

<sup>1</sup> Thus according to the modern Burmese era which begins in March 639 A. D. See C. MARSH DERRY, Chronology of India, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Waka. 42 would prefer to read 2049 (*chau paus* instead of *rk paus*). This would give 1505/6 A. D.

No. 112 (174), his ascent of the throne would fall accordingly in 1505 A. D.

37. P. E. Peers, *The Date of Bhuvaneka Bâhu VII.* (JRAS. C. B. xxx, No. 65, 1912, p. 267 ff.) comes to the conclusion that No. 113 (175) reigned 1521-1551 A. D. .

38. Viravikkama, No. 164 (175 d), came to the throne (according to Mhs. 92. 6) 2085 A. B. = 1541/2 A. D.

39. Mâyâdhânu (Mayadunne), No. 115 (175 b), died according to Râjalekhâna (Wicca.), Šaka 1503 = 1581/2 A. D.; Râjasîha I., No. 116 (177), according to Rv. Šaka 1514 = 1592/3 A. D.; Vimaladhammasuriya I., No. 117 (178), according to Rv. Šaka 1525 = 1603/4 A. D.; he came to the throne (Mhs. 94. 5) 2195 A. B. = 1591/2 A. D.; Senâratana, No. 118 (179) died according to Râjalekhâna (Wicca.) Šaka 1557 = 1635/6 A. D. and Râjasîha II., No. 119 (180), Šaka 1609 = 1687/8 A. D.; Vimaladhammasuriya II., No. 120 (181), Šaka 1629 = 1707/8 A. D.

40. Kittisirirâjasîha, No. 128 (184), ascended the throne (Mhs. 99. 2) 2290 A. B. = 1746/7 A. D. He died Šaka 1703 = 1781/2 A. D. He sends embassies to Siam (Mhs. 100. 59 and 91) 2293 and 2296 A. B. = 1749/50 and 1752/3 A. D. Lastly Mhs. 100. 282 gives 2301 A. B. = 1757/8 A. D. as the date for the consecration of the rebuilt Rajata-vihâra.

## Contents of Chapters 73-101

### Chapter 73

Parakkamabāhu I. begins the fulfilment of his task as ruler (v. 1-10). — Benevolence to the poor, reform and conciliation of the Order (v. 11-22). — Buildings such as alms-halls and hospitals (v. 23-39). — Medical care (v. 40-54). — Construction of the city walls (v. 55-60). — The royal palace and neighbouring buildings (v. 61-94). — Laying out of the Nandana and Dipuṇḍa gardens with their various buildings (v. 95-123). — Building of the temple of the Tooth Relic by Mahinda and of the Golden thupa by Queen Rūparatī (v. 124-147). — Building of streets, of three suburbs with vihāras and of fourteen city gates (v. 148-164).

### Chapter 74

Restoration of Anurādhapura (v. 1-11). — Foundation of Parakkamapura, administrative measures (v. 12-21). — Rebellion in Rohaya (v. 22-39). — Rakkha sent to Rohaya (v. 40-43). — A rising of the mercenaries in Kotthasītra is suppressed (v. 44-49). — Rakkha's campaign (v. 50-66). — Bhūta joins him, the two generals continue the campaign (v. 67-80). — The Bank at Iskagalla secured, advance to Uddhanadvāra (v. 81-88). — Expedition against Dīghavāpi (v. 89-98). — Parakkamabāhu issues strict commands to take the sacred relics, Tooth and Alms-bowl, from the rebels. Their capture after heavy fighting at Uravelī (v. 99-126). — Sūkarabbhātu escapes from prison and flees to Rohaya, Maṇju sent in pursuit of him (v. 127-132). — Renewed fighting with the rebels (v. 133-142). — Death of Rakkha (v. 143-152). — The

rebels gather fresh courage, battles in the Guttasālā district (v. 153-157). — At the command of the King the relics are sent to Pulatthīnagārā; Manju who negotiates their dispatch, secures the rear of the army by an expedition to the Dīgharāvīpi district (v. 158-180). — Parakkamabāhu brings the relics with great ceremony to the capital (v. 181-248).

### Chapter 75

Combats in Dīgharāvīpi-maṇḍala (v. 1-18). — Advance of the Kañcukīśyaka Rakkha along the coast by way of Gimhatītha and Mahāvālukagāma as far as Mālīvarathālī (v. 19-68). — Expedition of the Dāniḍūlhikārī Rakkha starts from Doyīvagga (v. 69-97). — Decisive battles, finally at Mahāsenengārā, capture of Mahānāgabala and union with the other Rakkha (v. 98-120). — Fresh combats in Kūṇḍījavagga and Mahāgūrūma (v. 121-140). — Feigned retreat to Pūgadavijāvāta and decisive actions against the rebels (v. 141-148). — Manju joined in Kumbugāma. Rakkha's troops capture Dvādaśasahassaka and destroy the rebels there, Manju's soldiers succeed in taking Queen Sugalī prisoner (v. 149-181). — Stern punishment of the guilty, clemency towards those who submit (v. 182-193). — Victorious return of the army to Pulatthīnagārā (v. 194-204).

### Chapter 76

Risings in Bobaya and Mahatītha (v. 1-9). — Insolence of the ruler of Rāmattītha (v. 10-35). — Parakkamabāhu determines to make war on him and prepares for the campaign (v. 36-52). — Victories in Rāmattītha and conclusion of peace (v. 53-75). — Succession disputes in Madhūrā, Parakkamabāhu petitioned for aid by the Paṭṭeju king, sends an army under Lañkāpura to Southern India (v. 76-85). — Landing and victorious actions with Kulasekhīra's generals, occupation of Rāmīssara (v. 86-101). — Restoration of the Ratanavālukacetiya in Anurādhapura by captive Damilas; on the completion of the work Parakkamabāhu celebrates a great festival (v. 102-120). — Continuation of the war in Southern India;

combats with Kulasekhara himself at the fortified camp of Parakkamapura opposite Rāmīssara and further victorious actions (v. 121-192). — Prince Virapāṇḍu, the lawful heir to the throne, joins Laṅkāpura; capture of Madhūrā (v. 193-219). — Fresh combats with Kulasekhara's generals which end with the taking of Semponnāvi (v. 220-266). — Continuation of the campaign; Neṭṭura the key position of the Sihalas (v. 267-290). — Reinforcements arrive from Laṅkā under Jagadvijaya. The town of Rājinā finally taken by force from Kulasekhara, he himself escapes (v. 291-334).

### Chapter 77

Kulasekhara renewes the fight. Laṅkāpura subjugates several of his subordinate leaders and gains a victory at Pona-amarāvati (v. 1-24). — Virapāṇḍu consecrated king in Madhūrā (v. 25-31). — Continuation of the war against Kulasekhara who finally seeks refuge in the Cola country (v. 32-70). — Further actions culminate again in a fight for Pona-amarāvati (v. 71-93). — Laṅkāpura sends the booty to Ceylon, Parakkamabāhu founds the village of Pāṇḍuvijaya in memory of the successful campaign (v. 94-106).

### Chapter 78

Second account of Parakkamabāhu's reform of the Church. Mahūkassapa head of the Council (v. 1-30). — The King's ecclesiastical buildings: Jetavana (with Tivaka house, circular temple for the Tooth Relic etc.), Ālābhāna pacīrya (with Laṅkātilaka, Baddhasimāpūrṇā etc.) (v. 31-55). — Fixing of the boundaries by the King (v. 56-70). — Pucchimārāma, Uttarārāma, Mahāthūpa (v. 70-78). — Vihāras in the suburbs and the Kapila-vihāra (v. 79-95). — Restoration of the buildings in Anurādhapura (v. 96-109).

### Chapter 79

The laying out of gardens (v. 1-12). — Erection or restoration of thūpas and other sacred buildings in Rājavatthā

(v. 13-22). — Building or restoration of reservoirs and irrigation canals (v. 23-69). — Similar works in Rohana (v. 70-84). — Conclusion (v. 85-86).

### Chapter 80

Vijayabāhu II. reigns piously (v. 1-14). — He is murdered by Mahinda VI. who is followed by Kittinissāka, famed for his pious foundations (v. 15-25). — Brief reigns of Virabāhu, Vikkamabāhu, Cojagaṅga, Līlāvati (with Kitti), Sāhasamalla, Kalyāṇarati (with Ayasmanta) (v. 27-41). — There follow Dhammāsoka, Anikaṅga, Līlāvati (with Vikkantacūṇakka), Lokissara, Līlāvati (with Parakkama) and Parakkamapāṇḍu II. (v. 42-51). — Tyrannical reign of Māgha (51-80).

### Chapter 81

After a time of great confusion Vijayabāhu III. takes over the government in Jambuddoṭi (v. 1-16). — He fetches the reliques of the Tooth and the Alms-bowl which had been hidden by the theras on the Kottimāla mountain and builds for them a safe sanctuary on the Billasela mountain (v. 17-39). — He has sacred texts transcribed, builds vihāras and restores decayed buildings (v. 40-63). — He carefully educates his two sons Parakkamabāhu and Bhuvanekabāhu and appoints the former as his successor (v. 64-80).

### Chapter 82

Parakkamabāhu II. brings the Tooth Relic to Jambuddoṭi, builds a temple for it and makes three urns as receptacles for it (v. 1-14). — Miraculous apparition (v. 15-49). — The setting up of the relic accompanied by a great festival (v. 50-53).

### Chapter 83

Benevolent reign of the King (v. 1-7). — The Damījas conquered and driven out (v. 8-35). — Incursion of the Jāvakas; they are defeated by the King's nephew, Virabāhu (v. 36-52).

## Chapter 84

Restoration of property in the Island according to former conditions (v. 1-6). — Reform of the Order, invitation to foreign theras like Dhammakitti (v. 7-16). — The King builds monasteries, sees to the better training of the bhikkhus, celebrates great festivals for the Order, honours eminent theras and bestows abundant gifts on the bhikkhus (v. 17-44).

## Chapter 85

Parakkamabahu II. builds in Srivijayana a vihāra and has the two sacred relics brought thither from Jambuddaya with great ceremony (v. 1-36). — Offerings to the bhikkhus and a sacrificial festival for the Buddha (v. 37-58). — Building of the Billawela-vihāra and other monasteries and restoration of decayed structures in Kalyāṇi, Hatthavanagalla, Devanagara. Veneration of a relic of Mahākassapa in Bhūmatittha (v. 59-89). — Veneration of the Tooth Relic in the Sriwijeyasundara-vihāra and other meritorious works (v. 90-98). — Great kāṭhina offering and sacrificial festival (v. 99-117). — Pilgrimage to the Samanakūṭa (v. 118-122).

## Chapter 86

The King has all kinds of meritorious works performed by his minister Devapatiñja (v. 1-17). — Making of a road from Gaṅgāśripura to Samanakūṭa and buildings on the summit (v. 18-36). — Embellishment of the Hatthavanagalla-vihāra and road-building at Bhūmatittha (v. 37-49). — Laying out of a large cocoplantation, building of the village Mahābhujngaccha. Devapatiñja honoured by the King (v. 44-58).

## Chapter 87

A threatened famine prevented by the exhibition of the Tooth Relic (v. 1-13). — The King gathers round him his five sons and his sister's son and gives them advice (v. 14-36). — With the consent of the bhikkhu community he transfers the government to his eldest son, Vijayabahu (v. 39-71).

## Chapter 88.

Vijayabāhu chooses Virabāhu as his intimate friend (v. 1-9). — He builds a temple for the Tooth Relic (v. 10-17) and divides the protection of the country among his brothers (v. 18-28). — Affection of the people (v. 29-42). — Vijayabāhu's buildings erected during his journeys through the country (v. 43-61). — War with Candabbāhu (v. 62-76). — Buildings in Subhagiri and Anurādhapura (v. 77-89). — Restoration of Pataliṭṭhingara (v. 90-121).

## Chapter 89

Parakkamabāhu consecrates king in Pataliṭṭhingara (v. 1-10). — Ceremonial transference of the Tooth and Bowl relics from Jambuddoyi to the above town (v. 11-46). — Great Upasampadā ceremony in Saluvatīthā (v. 47-63). — Distinction conferred on deserving bhikkhus (v. 64-71).

## Chapter 90

End of Vijayabāhu IV. (v. 1-3). — Bhuvanekabāhu I. escapes from the rebel Mitta to Subhagiri (v. 4-11). — Mitta murdered in Jambuddoyi by rebel mercenaries who immediately support the King (v. 12-30). — Establishment of his dominion and meritorious works of Bhuvanekabāhu I. (v. 31-42). — Incursion of Ariyacakravartin who carries off the Tooth Relic to the Panja country (v. 43-47). — Parakkamabāhu III. reigns the relic by negotiation (v. 48-55). — He reigns in Pataliṭṭhingara (v. 56-58). — Bhuvanekabāhu II. reigns as pious king (v. 59-63). — Parakkamabāhu IV. builds a temple for the Tooth Relic and celebrates a festival for it (v. 64-79). — Literary activity of the King. His buildings (v. 80-104). — Bhuvanekabāhu III., Vijayabāhu V., Bhuvanekabāhu IV. (v. 105-9).

### Chapter 91

Parakkamabāhu V. and Viikkamabāhu V. Alugakkō-nāra founds Jayavuḍḍhanakutṭa (v. 1-8). — Bhuvanekabāhu V., Virabāhu II. (v. 9-14). — Parakkamabāhu VI. His meritorious works (v. 15-36).

### Chapter 92

Jayabāhu II., Bhuvanekabāhu VI., Pavāja Parakkamabāhu VII., Viru Parakkamabāhu VIII., Vijayabāhu VI., Bhuvanekabāhu VII. (v. 1-5). — Viravikkama (in Kandy) earns merit by offerings to the Order. Pilgrimages, festivals etc. (v. 6-31).

### Chapter 93

Māyāñhanu (v. 1-3). — Rājastha I. (in Sūtavaka) is converted to Hinduism and persecutes the Buddhist priests (v. 4-17).

### Chapter 94

Vimaladhammasuriya I. in Goa (v. 1-6). — He brings the Tooth Relic from the Labujagāma-vihāra to Kandy and builds a temple for it (v. 7-14). — He summons bhikkhus from Arakan and furthers the Order (v. 15-23).

### Chapter 95

Senāratana saves the Tooth Relic from the Portuguese and proceeds to Mahiyañgata where a son is born to him, with significant signs (v. 1-16). — Returning to Kandy, he divides the realm by lot among his three sons (v. 17-26).

### Chapter 96

Rājastha II. dispossesses his brothers and becomes sole king (v. 1-6). — He is distinguished by personal courage (v. 7-10). Successful fights with the Portuguese (v. 11-37). — Vigorous rule in the interior (v. 38-42).

## Chapter 97

Vimaladhammasuriya II. builds a temple for the Tooth Relic and furthers the Order by the admission of monks from Arakan (v. 1-15). — Pilgrimages and other meritorious works (v. 16-22). — Narindusitha lays the Order under obligations, undertakes pilgrimages, performs other pious works and builds the new temple for the Tooth Relic (v. 23-47). — The sāmanera Sarayampara takes the Tooth Relic under his protection and at the instigation of the King, performs several important works (v. 48-62).

## Chapter 98

Vijayarājastha marries princesses from Madhuri who embrace Buddhism and are its devoted disciples (v. 1-20). — The King's relations with Sarayampara (v. 21-24). — Veneration of the Tooth Relic with great festivities (v. 25-37). — Sacrificial festival of lamps (v. 38-61). — The building of vibhāras and the embellishment of Sirivadjhana (v. 62-70). — Sermons (v. 71-79). — Banishment of the Parāngis, visit to the sacred places (v. 80-86). — Embassy to Ayojhi in order to fetch bhikkhus. The King's end (v. 87-97).

## Chapter 99

Kittisirirājastha reigns piously and seeks to spread the Buddhist doctrine (v. 1-24). — Honours conferred on the bhikkhus from Itakkhaṅga and furtherance of the Order (v. 25-35). — Pilgrimage to the sacred places (v. 36-41). — Great festivities in Sirivadjhana, specially in honour of the Tooth Relic (v. 42-74). — Continuation of the Malivāpasa (v. 75-80). — Friendly relations of the King and his brothers who like himself, are believing Buddhists (v. 81-107). — Military embroilment with the Olandas who take Sirivadjhana, but suffer a severe defeat (v. 108-139). — The Tooth Relic which had been concealed from the enemy is brought back to the town (v. 140-149). — The Olandas sue for peace (v. 150-167). — The King cares for the welfare of the Order (v. 168-182).

## Chapter 100

Veneration of the Tooth Relic by the King who makes large offerings to it and celebrates festivals (v. 1-43). — Reform of the Order, embassy to Ayojjhā to King Dhammika who sends bhikkhus under the leadership of the thera Upāli to Laṅkā where they are received with great festivities (v. 44-90). — The King himself visits the monks from Sāminda in the Pupphārāmu where dwellings are assigned them and instigates the holding of an Upasampadā ceremony (v. 91-96). — Furtherance of the newly established Order; the envoys who had accompanied the monks from Sāminda return thither (v. 97-135). — Dhammika again sends bhikkhus to Laṅkā. Death of Upāli (v. 136-148). — Envoys whom Kittisiri had sent to Dhammika return with rich gifts (v. 149-170). — Efficacy of the Siamese monks in Laṅkā; their return to Siam (v. 171-179). — The making of a Buddha image in Sirivadhanā and ceremony of the Festival of the eyes (v. 180-200). — Rebuilding of the Gaṅgārāma and furnishing of the monastery (v. 201-215). — Foundation of a monastery in Kuyḍasāla (v. 216-219). — Restoration of the cult on the Sumannakūṭa (v. 220-228). — Restoration of destroyed monasteries and their property, namely of the Rajula-vihāra, which is described in detail (v. 229-292). — Further meritorious works of the King and of his minister Sevappagāma (v. 293-301).

## Chapter 101.

Siriñjādhirkṛṣṇa reigns piously (v. 1-18). — Sirivikkamarājasiha at first a pious prince, becomes a tyrannical monster. The people rise against him and banish him to the mainland. The British take possession of the kingdom (v. 19-29).

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## CHAPTER LXXIII

### ACCOUNT OF THE REBUILDING OF PULATHINAGARA

Now when the Ruler Parakkama had accomplished his 1 consecration as king, he the wise one, best among those who understand what is good (for the people), thought thus: "By 2 those kings of old who turned aside from the trouble of furthering the laity and the Order — who through lust, hatred, fear and delusion went wofully astray<sup>1</sup>, who caused great evil 3 by the gathering of immeasurable taxes and the like — has this people aforesome been grievously harassed. May it henceforth be happy, and may the Order of the great Sage — long sullied by admixture with a hundred false doctrines, rent 5 asunder by the schism of the three fraternities and flooded with numerous unscrupulous bhikkhus whose sole task is the 6 filling of their bellies — (that Order) which though five thousand years have not yet passed, is in a state of decay, once more attain stability. Of those people of noble birth who here and 7 there have been ruined, I would fain by placing them again in their rightful position, become the protector in accordance with tradition. Those in search of help I would fain support 8 by letting like a cloud overspreading the four quarters of the earth<sup>2</sup>, a rich rain of gifts pour continually down upon them.

<sup>1</sup> *Chanda, dosa, bhaya, visha* are called A. II. 18 *cittari agatigamanī*. Cf. *chaudigati* (*devadigati* etc.) *gantuy* D. III 133<sup>21</sup>, *charita agatī* *gantuy* Nett. 44<sup>1</sup> etc.

<sup>2</sup> The Buddhist cosmology recognises four chief continents. Cf. Vv. 20, 10 *caturmaya mahaśākyāya kṣetra* *ya* 'dha kūrige. S. V. 343<sup>20</sup> *caturmaya* *paṭilobha*. In contrast to these are the 2000 small *dipas* by which they are surrounded (Vv. 20 104<sup>21</sup>). In the Gal-vihāra inscription

9 All this was (for me) while with arduous struggle I sought  
10 the royal dignity, the absolutely preconceived result. Now is  
the time to carry out what I have wished." In consideration  
of this he bestowed office on those who deserved it.

11. Hereupon he had the drums beaten and those in search  
12. of help called together and he allotted them yearly a large  
13. alms equal in weight to his body. Then the Ruler in order  
14. to promote the furtherance of the Order, assembled the great  
15. community dwelling in the three fraternities. Further he called  
16. together many distinguished teachers learned in the methods  
17. of discriminating between failure and non-failure, and as he  
18. himself was the foremost among those versed in the rules of the  
19. Order and acquainted with right and wrong, he could distin-  
guish the genuine from the false ascetics. Further being in  
virtue of his impartiality free from liking and disliking, and  
as a result of his unweariedness arduously active day and  
night, he cured like a clever, expert physician who distin-  
guishes between curable and incurable disease, those which  
were curable and set aside those which were incurable by the  
method prescribed by the rules of the Order, free in his de-  
cisions from error. From the days of King Vattagāmī  
Abhaya<sup>2</sup> the three fraternities had lost their unity, despite  
the vast efforts made in every way by former kings down to

the Buddha is compared to a rain-cloud which pours its blessing over the four continents. These continents are: *Uttarakuru*, *Jambudipa*, *Pabbavideha* and *Aparagodhā* (Wickremesinghe, EZ. II, p. 273, n. 8). For the Brahmanic teaching of the *Dvîpas* see Kiepke, *Kosmogeographie der Indier*, p. 110ff.

1 Verses 2-10 form one sentence. It is governed by *mai kalo si-  
dhatu* (stop sublimus maya) *sambhavat*. What he has aspired to is:  
1) with regard to the mass of the people that they should be happy  
(sudhut); 2) with regard to the Order, that it might attain stability (yadhi  
vam sambhavat); 3) with regard to the nobility, that the king  
should again become their protective (v. 7d; *patiyanam* must be supple-  
mented by an *asasya* from *asasya* in 6d "may I be"); 4) with regard to  
those in want, that the king may support them (v. 8d).

<sup>7</sup> For the schism in the Order at the time of this prince see *Memo.* 32, 26 ff.

the present day. They turned away in their demeanour from one another and took delight in all kinds of strife. But the all-wise Ruler who had already in past existences striven after the purification of the Order as something which must be attained<sup>1</sup>, achieved its union, whereby he had to endure double as much heavy toil as in his efforts for the royal dignity. And he made the Order as uniform as milk and water so that it could last in purity for five thousand years<sup>2</sup>.

Hereupon the best of men had a square hall<sup>3</sup> erected in the middle of the town with four entrances and several large

<sup>1</sup> P. *gahitabhu* is an adverbial formation from *gahitabhu* = ske, *gahitaya*. It would correspond to skr. *gahitneyat*. Cf. Witzky, Indische Grammatik § 1095.

<sup>2</sup> Verses 12—22 form one sentence. The principal verb in 22 c d is *akdhi* (*janmamayi bhavatibhavati*), subject *bhupati* in 21 d. The gerunds *rásikatvā* (12 c) and *saṃvayitvā* (13 d), as also *saṃvayam* later (25 d) are subordinate. This last is preceded by the pret. and past. participles: — *paññatvānayagñiñi* (15 b), *ntavat* (15 d), *saṃvayitvānta* (16 c), *takṣi-* *chanta* and *tiṇijayata* (17 a b), as well as *saṃvayitvāñkappa* (17 c) and *gnibhāt* (21 c). These are all of them attributes of the subject. The object of *saṃvayam* *abhi* is *tiṇijayata* with the three attributes in 19 b c d of which the first has a still closer adverbial definition in 18 and 19 a ("in spite of the great efforts" etc.); *gnibhāt* must be supplemented by *katena*. — The brief account of our chronicle is confirmed by the Galvihāra inscription of Parakkamabahu in Polonnaruwa. Cf. Ed. Moulton, AIC nr. 56; WIEKLEMASUWAN, 62. II. 240 ff. From the contents it is even possible to establish certain connections between the inscription and the account of the Cūlava, though these are of too vague a character for us to draw far-reaching conclusions from them. Both start with the schism of the church under Vajrāñanī. Both speak of the intention that the Order should now be secure in its stability for 5000 years. In the Cūlava, the king is compared to a cloud spreading itself over the four continents just as the inscription uses this comparison of Buddha. See also note to 78. 5. In chap. 78 a second and more detailed account of the reform of the church follows. Rājāvalli says (rat, by H. Gressenick, p. 69) quite briefly: "he reconciled the religious differences which had existed since the reign of Vajrāñanī Abt." The account in the *Nikāp-* *saṅgraha* is more detailed (p. 22 of WIEKLEMASUWAN's ed.).

<sup>3</sup> P. *cetiya* = skr. *cetiya* denotes a square surrounded by buildings. We must imagine therefore a square court surrounded on all sides by halls open to the interior. Cf. Mbvs. 97. 16. The word occurs as the name of a particular building in Anurādhapura in Mbvs. 15. 47, 50; 30. 68.

24 rooms and instituted a great almsgiving in which everything  
 25 needful was to be had daily for many hundreds in number  
 26 who had kept the precepts of moral discipline<sup>1</sup>. And every  
 27 year the Ruler of men had given to each of them according  
 28 to his age, garments and mantles, (thus) at all times full of  
 29 benevolence. Thereupon he had four almsgivings built in the  
 30 four districts of the town and had them erected in separate  
 31 divisions, and therein he placed many vessels of bronze, cushions  
 32 and pillows, mats, carpets and bedsteads as well as cows by  
 33 the thousand that gave sweet milk. Then near these (halls)  
 34 at a spot with pure water he laid down charming gardens  
 35 adorned with trees that bore abundant blossom and fruit, and  
 36 fair as the garden of Nandana<sup>2</sup>. Further generous as he was,  
 37 he set up in their neighbourhood rich provender houses  
 38 supplied with money and money's worth which contained all  
 39 necessities such as syrup, sugar, honey and the like. And  
 40 (there) he instituted for many thousands of brahmins from  
 41 all four regions of the earth who practised moral discipline  
 42 and other virtues, for Brahmins belonging to a mendicant  
 43 order, as well as for many other supplicants and poor tra-  
 44 vellers daily a great almsgiving, he the wise (prince), untiring,  
 45 unwearying, with a heart full of love.

46 Hereupon the Ruler of men, filled with pity, had another  
 47 great hall built for many hundreds of sick people, fitted for  
 48 their sojourn there, and had placed in it in the way above  
 49 described, a complete collection of all articles of use. There  
 50 also he gave to each sick person a special slave and a female  
 51 slave to prepare day and night according to need, medicines  
 52 and food, solid and liquid. There too he had many provender  
 53 houses built in which a quantity of medicine, money and  
 54 money's worth and the like were collected. To discerning  
 55 and skilful physicians who were quick at distinguishing various  
 56 (bodily) conditions and who were versed in all the text books,

<sup>1</sup> P. *śāpālāvṛtī* refers as W. assumes, to monks "Age" in v. 25  
 (P. *yoṣṭhāvṛtī*) means then the period of belonging to the Order.

<sup>2</sup> The pleasure garden of the god Indra. E. W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology p. 141.

he gave maintenance according to their deserts, recognising 39 the merits in all of them and made them day and night practise the medical art in the best manner. He himself on 40 the four Uposatha days in the month, having laid aside all his ornaments and having taken upon himself the vow of the sacred day, pure with pure upper garment, surrounded by his 41 dignitaries, was wont to visit that hall, his heart cooled with pity<sup>1</sup>. With an eye that charmed by goodness he gazed at 42 the sick. And as the Ruler of men was himself versed in medical lore<sup>2</sup>, he the all-wise summoned the physicians ap- 43 pointed there, tested in every way their healing activities, and 44 if their medical treatment had been wrongly carried out he met them with the right method, pointed it out to them as the best of teachers and showed them the proper use of the 45 instruments by skilfully treating several people with his own hand. Then he tested the favorable or unfavorable condition 46 of all the sick, let those who were rid of their illness have garments given to them and then rejoicing in good, after he 47 had taken his reward<sup>3</sup> from the hands of the physicians and given them their reward<sup>4</sup>, he returned to his palace. By such 48 means year by year he being (himself) free from disease, freed the sick from all their illnesses.~

Yet another miracle never before seen or heard was mani- 49 fest in him who was rich in the virtue of pity rightly exercis- ed. To that hall there came, tortured by great pain, a crow 50 suffering from an ulcer that had formed in her cheek. As if 51

<sup>1</sup> P. *dyasitatalambusa*. Cf. 73. 14f. The heart is hot with passion, Passion is cooled by pity. We Northerners would be more inclined to say it is "warmed".

<sup>2</sup> P. *ayurveda* = skr. *ayurveda*. The Ayurveda "Veda of the Lengthening of the Spans of Life" was held to be the basis of all medical knowledge and was regarded as an *upanishad* of the Atharvaveda. See Wiesner, Geistl. der ind. Literatur, III, p. 542; J. S. A. V., Medicina, p. 12 f.

<sup>3</sup> Each time the expression *pufti* is used. Employed of the king, it means the merit working itself out in the human. This *pufti* is found in the healing activity of the physicians and is left by them to the king, because he is its spiritual parent. Cf. note to 42. 50. Employed of the doctors, *pufti* means the payment for their services.

chained by the strong bands of his pity she sat as if with clipped wings, motionless outside the hall moaning pitifully.

52 The physicians who rightly recognised her condition, caught  
 53 her and cured her at the Great King's command. Her disease  
 cured, the King set her upon an elephant and having made  
 her walk round the town, her right side towards it, he set  
 54 her free. Where, when and by whom was ever such exceeding  
 great mercy even to animals seen or heard?

55 Thereupon King Parakkamabahu, the hero, to whom all  
 right-minded people were devoted, set about the rebuilding in  
 grandeur and beauty of the superb city of Pulatthinagara  
 56 which had reached such a state that nought but its name  
 remained, and which no longer sufficed to make manifest his  
 57 superlatively royal glory<sup>1</sup>. The Monarch now had a high  
 chain of walls built which on all sides enclosed the fortified  
 58 town<sup>2</sup> and was larger than the town wall<sup>3</sup> of former kings  
 and gleamed with its coating of lime bright as autumn clouds.  
 59 Then after he had built round this three walls<sup>4</sup> each in turn  
 60 smaller than the other, he laid down various streets. Then he

<sup>1</sup> For the following description compare above all A. M. Hocart, The Topography of Polonnaruwa (ASO. Mémoire 11. 1920, p. 3ff.). H. W. Coomaraswamy is certainly right in his assumption that the description in the *Chilavapi* proceeds from south to north. I refer the reader at once to the second and later account of Parakkamabahu's building activities in 78, 81 ff.

<sup>2</sup> By *thamāvara* I understand here the inner walled part of the town in contrast to the open parts of the town lying around it. The "chain of walls" refers probably to the compact of the town still recognizable, stretching for about a mile from north to south and half a mile from east to west. Within this rampart lies the "citadel" with the royal castle. See note to v. 61.

<sup>3</sup> The old *gāvapāla* *racakkhete* shows that we must take the positive *meħaxdha* in the sense of a comparative, as is often the case. The new structure was thus more extensive than the older one.

<sup>4</sup> The Kaunḍinya lays down that three trenches each narrower than the other, must surround the wall of a castle. The dug out soil may have served for the construction of the "small wall". See Kaun. 2. 3. 21 (in Jolly's ed. p. 91; in J. J. Merton's translation p. 65<sup>ff</sup> in that of Sivaramayya, p. 67).

erected around his own palace and around his whole dwelling a second inner wreath of walls<sup>1</sup> and built thereon a palace<sup>2</sup> 61 seven storeys high, furnished with a thousand chambers and adorned with many hundreds of pillars painted in divers hues. It was richly supplied with hundreds of alcoves<sup>3</sup> which were 62 like to the summit of the Kelāsa<sup>4</sup> mountain and were radiant with manifold ornaments of climbing plants and flowers. It 63 had doors and windows of gold large and small, well divided walls and stairs and offered conveniences for every season. It was ever adorned with many thousands of various beds 64 which were made of gold, ivory and the like and had costly

<sup>1</sup> *P. amapākārasaṃyatām*, lit. a secondary circle of walls.

<sup>2</sup> The word for "palace", *paśupati*, first occurs in v. 70. All the verses between contain attributes of which I have made independent sentences. There is no doubt that the palace is recognisable in the ruins which are marked "palace" on the plans. It is enclosed along with a number of subsidiary buildings by a rampart (the *amapākāra* of the text) "forming an oblong of roughly 440 by 264 yards" (A. M. Hoernle, I. c., p. 3). The enclosed ground is now known by the name of the "Citadel", and the palace stands in the southern part of the square. Cf. for the whole H. C. P. Bell, ASC, 1911—12 (= S. P. III, 1915), p. 50ff. When the Culav. speaks of a thousand apartments and many hundreds of pillars that is of course merely the stereotyped exaggeration constantly recurring in such descriptions. At the same time there is a striking number of tiny rooms grouped round the central main part of the building in the groundfloor. There are more than fifty of them. Without doubt there were further apartments in the upper storeys. That the palace at least in its central portions consisted of one or several storeys is proved by the extraordinary strength of the walls enclosing the innermost chamber. These are more than ten feet thick. Then too a broad staircase is still standing which led from the south of this room upwards. Unfortunately our chronicle gives instead of exact figures merely the customary phrases prescribed by practice.

<sup>3</sup> *P. kūṭagāra*. Rāvanya's palace is also described in the Rāmāyaṇa 6. 9. 14 (Bombay ed. 1902) as *kūṭagāraḥ bṛhagāraḥ surāraḥ samāgṛhaṇī*. The commentary on the passage explains *kūṭagāraḥ* by *gupta-saṅghapāraḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Buildings which are high, pointed and white in colour (covered with stucco), especially stupas (78, 77), are frequently compared to the Kelāsa mountain (cf. 68, 41 and note).

65 coverings. The height of its splendour<sup>1</sup> was reached in the royal sleeping apartment which was ever immeasurably resplendent with a thick bunch of pearls<sup>2</sup> suspended at its four corners, white as moonbeams and gleaming so that they 66 laughed to scorn the beauty of the divine Gāngā. (The sleeping apartment) was adorned with a wreath of large golden lampstands which breathed out continually the perfume of 67 flowers and incense. With the network of tiny golden bells<sup>3</sup> suspended here and there and giving forth a sound like the 68 sound of the five musical instruments, the palace made known, as it were, the rich fulness of the merits of the King. This 69 splendid palace, like to a matchless structure of Vissakacumāra<sup>4</sup>, charming and peerless, he, the first among the protectors of 70 the earth, built and gave it the name of Vejayanta<sup>5</sup>.

71 For the carrying out of the ceremonies of expiation by the Brahmins (he built) the Hemamandira and for the recitation 72 of magic incantations the charming Dhāraṇīghara<sup>6</sup>. For listening to the birth stories of the great Sage which were related by a teacher appointed there for the purpose, (he built)

<sup>1</sup> So I translate *śrīdharmasay* *uttamavī* (cf. skr. *sāṅghika* as well as below v. 102) in v. 67 d. Verses 65 b to 67 a b contain attributes of *śrīsaginagabhiṇī* in 67 c, v. 65 attributes of *dhāraṇītakāñjana*.

<sup>2</sup> In Rām. 6. 9. 17 it is said of Rāvaṇa's palace *māstulabhiṇī* *māstulabhiṇīsabhiṇī* *śrībhanī* *śrībhanī*.

<sup>3</sup> The *śikṣipuṣpā* is one of the ornaments of the *māyāpā* (JĀCo. I. 92<sup>1</sup>; DhCo. I. 274<sup>2</sup>) and of the *pāñcāla* (D. II. 180<sup>3</sup>; Mhv. 27. 10, 27).

<sup>4</sup> Skr. *Vīśvākarma*, the architect of the gods, often associated and confused with Trāyīc. Cf. Horace, Epic Mythology, p. 201. He is the builder of Varuṇa's palace (ibid. p. 118) and of the divine hall of assembly (ibid. p. 113).

<sup>5</sup> This is the name of Indra's palace. See 45. 196.

<sup>6</sup> I take *Āśvemāṇī* "golden house" and *dhāraṇīghara*, "house of incantation" as the names of the buildings in question. *Sāṅki* in a is as otherwise *sāṅkīrṇī*, to be understood in the technical sense of skr. *śāṅki*. Cf. with *parīkṣāpīṭa* in a *parīkṣāpīṭa* JĀCo. I. 200<sup>4</sup>. It is impossible now to say which of the present ruins correspond to the buildings mentioned. We should probably look for them in the various structures in the immediate vicinity of the palace.

the fair Mayūlamandira<sup>1</sup>. For the reception of the magic 73 water and of the magic thread given him by the yellow-robed ascetics (he built) the Pāñcasattimandira<sup>2</sup>. Lastly he who 74 ever trod the path of the true doctrine, erected a sermon 75 house<sup>3</sup>. It was surrounded by an enclosure of coloured 76 curtains and adorned with costly canopies. By reason of the 77 many-hued, sweet-smelling flowers laid down here and there 78 as offerings it had the semblance of a single nosegay. Its 79 interior was constantly lighted by lamps with scented oil and 80 perfumed by incense of gum resin. It was gaily adorned with 81 many likenesses of the Victor (Buddha) in gold and the like 82 and was resplendent with a garland of pictures of the Omniscient 83 One, which were painted on stuff. When that Prince among 84 kings entered it to place with his own hand a (jewel as) eye<sup>4</sup> 85 upon the statue of the Victor, or to honour by sacrifice the 86 Tathāgata, or to listen to the unsurpassable true doctrine 87 — (then) was it like unto a divine hall of assembly. It was so

<sup>1</sup> That is "circle house". Of course the building which was to serve for the narration of the jātakas was first erected and then an *ācariya* appointed for the purpose. *Iti.* (ABC. 1906, p. 106; cf. II. 286 ff.) regards the *metaphuṇḍīśa* as the so-called *Potgi*-vihāra to the south of Pāṇḍuñagara. But I do not believe that he is right.

<sup>2</sup> That is "the house of the seventy-five". The reason for the name is unknown. Obviously the building was meant to serve for the holding of *parīkṣā* ceremonies. Water and thread play the most important part in these, as the white thread which runs through the hands of all the participating priests starts from a vessel filled with water. At the close the forehands of the priests are sprinkled with the water.

<sup>3</sup> Again verses 74 to 81 form one sentence. The attributer in 74 to 81b precede the object *dhammāgāra* in 81c. Of these we have made independent sentences. The most important building in the neighbourhood of the palace is the "Rājumūligāra" situated to the east of it. It is an oblong structure on a terrace of three tiers. The walls of the terrace are decorated with beautifully carved reliefs. Whether indeed we may call the building a *dhammāgāra* is doubtful. It looks like a hall of audience or like a council-hall. Cf. ABC. 1906 (= S. P. XX. 1909), p. 3ff.

<sup>4</sup> The eyes of Buddha statues consisted frequently of precious stones (dark blue sapphires). Their insertion took place with specially solemn ceremonies.

graced by a wonderful peacock which drove people out of  
 81 their senses whenever screaming its peacock cry, it began  
 its dance together with the dancing girl who danced there  
 while they struck up a sweet rhythmic song<sup>1</sup>.

82 Further in order to listen to the rhythmic songs of the  
 many musicians and to behold their charming dance, the  
 Monarch had built near the palace the Sarasatimayūpā<sup>2</sup>.  
 83 It glittered in every direction with its golden pillars. It was  
 84 delightful with paintings relating to his (Parakkavabahu's)  
 85 deeds. It was embellished by a wishing-tree offering all de-  
 sired things which sparkled with all kinds of ornaments such  
 86 as earrings, bracelets, necklaces and the like, which was re-  
 splendent with garments of linen, silk, Chinese stuff and other  
 materials, which gleamed with its golden trunk and a row of  
 branches, and which was adorned by a flock of numerous birds  
 which were painted on it.

87 Further he had the fair mayūpā erected which bore the  
 name Rājavesibhujinga<sup>3</sup>. It was like unto the hall of the  
 gods, called Sudhamasū, which descended to earth, just as if

<sup>1</sup> The peacock was thus a mechanical toy which however existed apparently only in the imagination of the poet. "Rhythmic" is *ayagmita* or in v. 88 *ayagpeta*. The Indians distinguish three *ayag* or tempi; *druta*, *madhyam* and *vilambita*.

<sup>2</sup> "Mayūpā of Sarasvatī". She is the goddess of eloquence, here of the arts of the muses in general. It is impossible to identify either this building or the one following. The description is unfortunately purely formal. The fact of both buildings being described as mayūpās suggests something of the pavilion kind, provisional in character. Verses 82 to 86 and 87 to 91 again form each one sentence, built up in the same way as the sentence in v. 74 to 81.

<sup>3</sup> The name is difficult to explain. A suburb of Pulatthinagara is called thus (78, 163; 78, 79), and this name again seems to be connected with the epithet Rājavesibhujingasilāmegha applied to Bhaskiya in 76, 192. The word *vesi* means "barlet", "prostitute". *Bhujinga* in addition to "snake" means the "loose of a prostitute" (B.R. n. v., 6). This meaning is here to be assumed in the name owing to the association with *vesi*. In the inscription of Ihalā Puliyankulam of the time of Parakkumabhu I, dealt with by Coomaraswamy (J.R.A.S. C. B. XXX, nr. 79, p. 271), he has the surname of *ari-rāja-vesi-bhujinga*.

the good deeds of all people were accumulated at one spot. It was three-storeyed, ornamented with coloured pictures, 88 surrounded by lines of fair *vedikas*<sup>1</sup>, exquisite, adorned with 89 a costly chair beneath a wishing-tree which offered the singers 90 and other people the wished-for objects. It shimmered with its 91 manifold precious stones like the diadem, sparkling in the sun, 92 of that fair lady, the island of Lañkā, whom he won by the force 93 of his arms<sup>2</sup>; and it was like unto the wreath of tresses of 94 the protector of the world of men<sup>3</sup>. In the same way he 95 built the fair *Ekatthambha-pūsūla*<sup>4</sup> that ended with a ma-

<sup>1</sup> What *vedikā* means is not easy to determine. Noteworthy is the frequency of the phrase *vedikāya parikkhita*, „surrounded by a *vedikā*“ as for instance a bathing pond, a *pañchamati* D. II, 179<sup>7</sup> ff. Here most probably it means a railing, since just before the same has been said of a chair case. As a staircase when it is of gold etc. has golden *thambūla* (that is railing gates) and *sāriya* (i. e. cross-balls), as well as an *upasā* (ornament) of silver, in the same way the *vedikā* of the pond has it. Cf. further *VvCo*, 340<sup>5</sup>, where *kuñcimardikā* is explained by *entapāmayañjana vedikāya sahetena parikkhita*. A *vedikā* is part of a heavenly *pāsūla* just as the rooms, the windows, the network of bells (*Mhv*, 27, 16). The *lohaçākā* had a *parasāvedikā*, a *vedikā* of coral (*Mhv*, 27, 26). There was a *ñāñāñāvedikā* round the *bodhi* tree (*Mhv*, 30, 70). A *vedikā* belongs to a *stupa* (*Mhv*, 32, 4; 34, 41), to an image house (*Mhv*, 38, 40), to a bathing-house (*Mhv*, 78, 40). Cf. also note to 76, 118.

<sup>2</sup> I divide *nijahabedita* (= instr.) *army*. For it is hardly admissible to take the whole as a parallel compound to *Jañkāgavatya*.

<sup>3</sup> W. regards this as referring to Siva. The reference is suitable, since Siva wears the crescent moon in the hair over his forehead, his tresses are therefore illuminated.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. „one-pillar-palace“. In such a one-pillar-palace, *gale chathānike*, was Cittā the daughter of *Puñjuvāsudeva* confined, to prevent her coming into contact with any man. *JāCo* I, 441<sup>24-25</sup> also mentions an *chuttawebhagapāsūla* which serves as a king's dwelling. For an idea of what such a structure looked like, n. 94 n. b. is important where it is compared to a candleabra. One must therefore oddly enough imagine the *pāsūla* as something in the form of a dove-cote. It should be remembered however, that the rooms both in the royal castle at Polonnaruva and in the *Budhūsiñupāsāda* were extremely small, not more than 8×10 ft. In Vēherabendigala I saw something like a room just large enough for a man stretched at full length to lie down in.

93 kura<sup>1</sup> and rose aloft as if it had split open the earth. And it was adorned with a superb golden chamber<sup>2</sup> that was placed above on a golden column, possessed of the beauty of a cave of gold for this lion among kings, and which glittered like a candelabrum on a golden foot.

95 Again the Ruler, the leader of earth protectors, had a private garden laid down in a region close to the kings house. 96 As one felt that it showed by its beauty a likeness to the (heavenly) pleasure garden Nandana, and by lavishing charm charmed the eyes of men<sup>3</sup>, it received the name of Nandana<sup>4</sup>. 97 Its trees were twined about with jasmin creepers and it was filled with the murmur of the bees drunk with enjoyment of 98 the juice of the manifold blossoms. There campaka, asoka and tilaka trees, nūgas, peanāgas and ketakas, sal trees, pā- 99 jali and nipa trees, mangos, jambū and kadamba trees, vakuhas, coco palms, kūtjas and bimbijālakas, mālati, mallikā, tamāla 100 and nāvamālikā shrubs<sup>5</sup> and yet other trees bearing manifold fruits and blossoms rejoiced the heart of the people who went 101 thither. Pleasant it was, and with the cry of the peacocks and the gentle twitter (of the birds) it always delighted the 102 people. It was furnished with a number of ponds with be-

<sup>1</sup> A dolphin-like mythical animal often employed as ornament especially on balustrades of staircases.

<sup>2</sup> P. jātārāyāmāśāna, with a dwelling-room, a habitation of gold.

<sup>3</sup> I separate thus: . . . jātārāyāmāśāna (acc. pl.) nāndāmī-dāyā nāndāyāti. The fem. nāndāmī is found also S. I. 6<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Verses 95 to 112 are one sentence: . . . be laid down . . . the private garden . . . by name Nandana . . . whose trees . . . and it was filled . . . There follow further attributes of gharneyyāmā, partly in adjective form, partly as relative sentences (cf. pāthā in v. 100, 109, 111; gāy in v. 110).

<sup>5</sup> The botanical names are in the same order 1. *michelia champaka*, 2. *jasmin asoka*, 3. unknown (Skr. tilaka), 4. *mesua ferrea*, 5. *rotalaria tinctoria*, 6. *psidium odontissimum*, 7. *shorea robusta*, 8. *bignonia aviculata*, 9. *nauclea cochinchinensis*, 10. *mangifera indica*, 11. *eugenia jambolana*, 12. *nauclea cordifolia*, 13. *mimosa alata*, 14. *cocos nucifera*, 15. *wrightia antidysenterica* or *mericum antidysentericum*, 16. *momordica monodelphina*, 17. *jasminum grandiflorum*, 18. *jasminum sambac*, 19. *anthocephalus pictorius*, 20. a variety of *jasminum sambac*.

actful banks whose chief decorations were red and blue lotus flowers and which appropriated all that was the loveliest of the lovely. It was adorned too with a large gleaming bath-<sup>1</sup> room<sup>2</sup> supported by pillars resplendent with endless rows of figures in ivory, which was fair and like to a mountain<sup>3</sup> of cloud pouring forth rain by (means of) the showers of water which flowed constantly from the pipes of the apparatus, and which seemed to be the crown jewel of the beauty of the garden<sup>4</sup> and ravished the eye. The garden was (further)<sup>5</sup> resplendent with an extensive palace<sup>6</sup> adorned with many columns of sandalwood, resembling an ornament on the earth's<sup>7</sup> surface, that glittered, peerless, shimmering, and with an octagonal mandapa resembling an ear ornament. It was also adorned with another large, fair, charming mandapa that had the charm of a wreath of serpentine windings<sup>8</sup>. There in the garden the Silapokkharaŋ<sup>9</sup> pond continually captivated the King who was highest among rulers of the earth, who had attached the good without number to himself. Still more<sup>10</sup> delightful was the garden by (means of) the Maṅgulapokkharaŋ<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. *dhāradhāraṇa* (v. 105) corresponds to the sky, *dhāraṇī*. From the description it is clear that a shower bath is meant.

<sup>2</sup> P. *vyāvraśekhiyā*. It must be borne in mind that *lakshmi* is at the same time the name of the goddess of beauty, Lakshmi. Thus in the picture the garden is compared with the goddess and the "palace" with an ornament of her diadem.

<sup>3</sup> P. *śimūlā*. Writers are fond of using the term half mythically. By v. is understood mainly the shades of blessed spirits which hover in the air. In JāCo, I. 328<sup>12</sup> a tree serves as *śimūla* for the devatā dwelling there. See here and in the following the word occurs but rarely as a name for human habitations.

<sup>4</sup> Is the idea here pillars with baroque spirals such as are found on a structure of the so called quadrangle in Polonnaruwa?

<sup>5</sup> I. e. stone pond. Having regard to the two names occurring in v. 110, I prefer to take this as a proper name. W. also understands *guṇapokkharaŋ* in v. 111 as such. It is quite possible. We must then join *guṇapokkharaŋ* with *parame* "which gladdened by the fulness of perfumed water". My translation of vv. 111, 112 was determined by the circumstance that "parame" and "parame"<sup>13</sup> occur next to each other.

pond, and provided with the Nāndāpokkharayi pond it looked  
 111 like the divine garden of Nandana. Yet another pond gleamed  
 112 there, filled with a stream of perfumed water, gladdening the  
 royal moon, and it was ever fair with rich beauty and splen-  
 dour, furnished with the cave called Yasanta and with bath-  
 ing ponds<sup>1</sup>.

113 Again on land that resembled an island because the water  
 divided into two arms, the foe-subduer laid down a second  
 114 garden, the Dipuyyāma<sup>2</sup>. There one saw the Dhavalāgūra<sup>3</sup>  
 that like to the summit of the Kelaśa, was made entirely of  
 115 stucco, wonder exciting. The garden was adorned with a  
 Vimāna which bore the name of Vijitmanḍapa because it was  
 116 built to show forth the various branches of science. And there  
 too gleamed the beautiful, roomy<sup>4</sup> Dolīmanḍapa<sup>5</sup> that was

<sup>1</sup> The *pukkharayi* or *ghāni* in rather lamey after bathing-pools have been already mentioned in v. 102 to 111. The question is where must the garden be looked for. In my opinion no weight can be attached to the structures in it mentioned in the text. The description is purely formal, made up according to the recipe for describing a garden. Even the enumeration of the many trees means nothing. The author is merely displaying his botanical knowledge, or rather his acquaintance with literary sources like Abhp. 636 ff. Of actual facts which could be utilised little remains but that it was a *ghārayāma* a house-garden (private garden). We must look for it therefore in the immediate neighbourhood of the royal castle and I believe therefore that it filled the northern half of the citadel. Doubtless it contained pavilions and bathing arrangements. A. M. Hoerdt is inclined to look for the Nandana garden to the east of the palace and outside of the citadel, mainly on account of the *śīhapokkharayi*, since a bathing pond answering this description does in fact lie under the eastern wall of the citadel.

<sup>2</sup> Opinion is now unanimous, I think, that the "island park" lies on the so-called "promontory" that juts out in the Tropavera west of the citadel and on which are now situated the rest house and the bungalow of the Archaeological Survey. For the ruins of the Promontory see the plan ASG. 1901 (= LIII. 1907). For the bathing-house in the Dipuyyāma of EZ. II. 143.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. "white house", to be taken as a proper name.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of *virita* is unknown. Skr. *virita* (cf. Knstnl. 2. 2. 1) means a (fenced-in) pasture.

<sup>5</sup> I. e. "swing pavilion".

furnished with a swing hung with tiny pretty golden bells. The garden was further resplendent with the vihāna called 117 Kīlāmaṇḍapa<sup>1</sup> where the king at the head of the sport officials connoisseurs of the merry mood<sup>2</sup>, was wont to amuse himself. And it was for ever embellished by the so-called Santimadapa<sup>3</sup> 118 which consisted of ivory, and again by another (madapa), the superb so-called Mocamadapa<sup>4</sup> and also by the Ādāsamadapa<sup>5</sup> 119 whose walls consisted of mirrors. There too the bathing 120 pond Anāntapokkharaṇī<sup>6</sup> with its stones whose layers resembled the coils of (the serpent king) Ananta, continually captivated the people. There the bathing pond Cittapokkharaṇī<sup>7</sup> with 121 its gay pictures rejoiced the foe-subduer Parakumabāhu, the royal sage. Resplendent there was a four-storeyed, peerless 122 palace, painted with various pictures and bearing the name Singāravimāna<sup>8</sup>. The garden was adorned with tīla and 123 hūntīla palms, was resplendent with nūga and punnāga trees and was rich in banana, kappikāra and kavikāra trees<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. "play pavilion" or "games pavilion".

<sup>2</sup> P. *hassarāma* = skr. *hāsyaṇī*. On the theory of the *maṇi* a note to 72. 91.

<sup>3</sup> The name might mean "pavilion of (the planet) Saturn". The Col. Ed. reads against the MSS. *Santimadapa* which would mean "casket pavilion, pavilion of the curtain".

<sup>4</sup> I. e. "peacock pavilion".

<sup>5</sup> I. e. "mirror pavilion".

<sup>6</sup> Ananta is here the name of the world serpent Śeṣa (see Horner, *Epic Mythology* 23—24). It is also called Anāntaboga, and it would be possible to insert this name also here in *anāntabogapāṇḍukāraṇḍūjīvivasīlā* (instead of "coils of the u"). W. seems to do this. But then it is not clearly indicated in what the comparison consists. In my opinion the steps surrounding the pond were laid somewhat in this form:

<sup>7</sup> I. e. "picture pond".

<sup>8</sup> P. *śāradāvīśvāraṇīdhipūbbaya*, lit. a vihāna in which the word *śāradā* (Skr. *śāradā*, "autumn, love, a particular race") stands in front (of the name). *Pulha* is used here instead of the customary *adi* (note to 44. 6).

<sup>9</sup> The botanical names are in the same order: 1. *horneus labelliformis*, 2. *phoenix paludosa*, 3. *menta ferrea*, 4. *rottella tectoria*, 5. *muscicapitum*, 6. *pterospernum acrifolium*, 7. *prema spinosa* (?). — Verées

124 Now there was in the palace of the Monarch of all races of rulers, among those belonging to the closest of his followers, a man named Mahinda. He was a worshipper of the triad 125 of the Jewels<sup>1</sup>, understood what was blessed and unblessed, was wise, pure in heart, versed in the means of accomplishing 126 many meritorious actions, never went astray through lust, hatred, fear or delusion, was never satiated with the fulness<sup>2</sup> of goodness, as little as the ocean by the (streaming in of 127 the) waters. He was gifted with conscientiousness and modesty, attacked ever with brave courage and was a discerning guardian 128 of moral discipline. Now this man with the favour of the sublime Monarch who was ever a helper in all (good) enterprises, caused a pāsūda to be built for the honour of 129 the sacred Tooth Relic which was pure by its suffusion with the nectar of the eighty-four thousand portions of the doctrine. 130 The same (pāsūda) was embellished by a roofing and doors and windows of gold and was resplendent with numerous 131 paintings within and without. It gleamed with canopies of various colours like a golden mountain surrounded by a net 132 of lightning. It was resplendent with curtains which glistened in brilliancy, and with a series of couches covered with costly 133 coverings. It was like to a dwelling of the goddess of beauty, glorious as if all the grace found in each living being were 134 concentrated in one spot<sup>3</sup>. It was resplendent with its vast, charming hall of the moon, which was wonderfully beautiful, white as light, or as pearl ornaments, or as geese, or as snow, 135 or as a cloud. Banners were fixed on it, it was fair, with gilded summit, bright, calling forth delight, beautiful<sup>4</sup>.

113-123 again form one sentence which must be analyzed according to note to v. 90. According to the description in this passage, the garden must have been full of buildings. That would fit the "promontory" on which there are many rains, amongst others those of a bathing-pond.

<sup>1</sup> See note to 46. 17.

<sup>2</sup> P. eyhehi li. by the Bhads.

<sup>3</sup> The sentence must be construed thus: *śrīmā vīya Śrīya jatātāya  
sahasrāya devalakshāraṇāya rāmāgryeghāya* (what is gracious = grace) vīya  
clattha pāsūda.

<sup>4</sup> The verses 124 to 135 are one sentence. The subject is Ma-

Further the King, the sole banner of the stem of the nobility, possessed a dear consort who had come forth, rejoicing the eyes of the people, as the moon (rises) from the ocean, from (the house of) the great king Kittisrimegha<sup>1</sup>, who loved him, the highest of rulers, as Sītā (loved) Rāma. Amongst all the ladies of the harem, many hundreds in number, she was by far his best loved. She loved the friend of the jewels and beyond her own husband who was like to the King of the gods (Indra), she cared for none even as much as grass whoever he might be. She did what the Lord of men wished, had friendly speech, was adorned with the ornament of many virtues such as faith, discipline and the like, was skilful in dance and song, possessed an intelligence (sharp) as the point of the kusa grass, her heart was ever cooled by the practice of the virtue of pity<sup>2</sup>. She, the Queen Ilupavati, most beauteous of beauteous women, the clever, the virtuous, pure in action, the highly-famed, mindful of the doctrine of the Victor which teaches of impermanency, had learned many sayings of the great Sage and kept them in her memory, as for instance "Short is the life of the impermanent men: the pious man should live as if his head were in flames; there is no escape from

*kindamwabō* (v. 127 v), predicate and object are *Ātman* *pratibhā*. Verses 124 - 127 sustain the attributes to the subject, verses 128 - 131 suffer an adverbial in 128, 129 the attributes to the object *pratibhā*. It is to be noted that nothing is said about the spot where this temple of the Tooth Relic was built. A. M. Hoerter assumes that it must have stood in the Dīpavīla, since the kings used to keep the sacred relic near the palace. He says (Monum. ASI, II, 4): "Perhaps that puzzling structure called the Mahābhūmī, without doors or windows may be the temple in question." V. 130 seems on the other hand to contradict this. However the Tooth Relic was in Rohana in the early times of Parakkama. Its re-capture is first described in the following chapter. If then Mahinda's building was to serve for the keeping of it, its re-erection was either actually expected or the structure belongs to the time after the close of the mispright described in Chap. 54. Cf. also 71, 108 ff.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the king of Rohana mentioned in 41, 65. The name of the queen is given in v. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above v. 41 with the note.

145 death"<sup>1</sup>. Thus as she knew the short-lived nature of beings who wander about the ocean of existences, and as she knew that there was no firm hold there that could compare with 146 meritorious works, so she was unwearied in much well-doing, and as thereby she achieved her speedy escape from the cycle 147 (of rebirths) she built in the midst of the town a vast golden thūpa<sup>2</sup>, as it were a golden ship to reach the saving shore of Nirvana.

148 Further in this beautiful town the all-wise (king) had different kinds of streets laid down, many hundreds in number, adorned with many thousands of dwellings of two, three and 149 more storeys and provided with various bazaars where all wares were to be had and in which day by day there was 150 incessant traffic of elephants, horses and chariots — (streets) which were here and there enlivened by people who were ever indulging in great games.

151 Then he laid down in the vicinity three suburbs called 152 Rājavesibhujñāga, Rājankulataka and Vijita, adorned with three three-storeyed pāśādas which possessed every excellence 153 and every beauty, and crowned by three vihāras which were 154 named Vejurāna, Isipatana and Kusinārā<sup>3</sup>. But between the

<sup>1</sup> The strophe is taken from Saṃyutta 4,9,5 (= I, 105). It is worth noting that in S. the Sinhalese MSS. have in the same way as here in the Mhv. the reading *Alleypānu*, whereas the parallel to the preceding strophe requires *Alleyapānu*, which seems to be the Burmese reading. There can of course be no question of our correcting the passage, since the author without doubt followed the Sinhalese tradition, though erroneous. In its proper form the translation of the quotation runs: . . . "Short is the life of man, the wise man will despise it, he will live as if etc. etc."

<sup>2</sup> H. C. P. Bell, IASC, 1900 — VI, 1914, p. 61 has already identified this with the thūpa of the so-called Puhulu-vehara, situated within the ramparts, thus in the town itself and in its northeastern part.

<sup>3</sup> In the account 78, 79 B. the three subdistricts are called 1. Rājavesibhujñāga, 2. Sīhapura (instead of Rājankulataka) and 3. Vijita and the vihāras built in them are given in order as Isipatana (in 1), Kusinārā (in 2) and Vejurāna (in 3). I believe the designation *Rājankulataka* ("end i. e. starting-point, of the dynasty") is an allusion to Sīhapura, for this was the name of the town founded by Vijaya's father Śāhakila (Mhv. 6, 36) in Lājapāthu. To identify the suburb of Vijita with the

royal palace and the three towns the monarch had built at a distance of a *gāvuta*<sup>1</sup> from each other, charming sermon houses and image chapels<sup>2</sup> and splendid vihāras adorned with rest-houses for bhikkhus from all four regions of the heavens.

In the town Polatthi(*magara*) by name furnished thus with all accessories and provided with every luxury, like to a garden made beautiful by union with the joy of spring, which he himself enlarged so that it was four *gāvutas* long and seven *gāvutas*<sup>3</sup> broad, which bore his name — the beauteous one — which possessed a splendid wreath of walls, which was resplendent with fair dwellings, which contained large as well as small streets, which was an elixir for the eyes — (in this town) the Lord of men who was like to Puripulada (Indra), who was skilled in the preserving of all advantages, those not yet achieved and those already achieved, had fourteen gates erected: the superb King's Gate<sup>4</sup>, the beautiful Lion Gate, the great Elephant Gate, further the Indra Gate, the gate called after Hanumant<sup>5</sup>, the lofty Kurera Gate, the brightly painted Cugdi Gate, as well as the Rakghasa Gate<sup>6</sup>, the high-towering Ser-

town of the same name mentioned in Mhv. 7. 45 is quite unhistorical. But it is not impossible that the suburb was named after that town. The three monasteries were called after especially sacred places: ... Veluvana after the park near Rājagaha which was given to Buddha by Anāthapindikā; Taipatana after the park in Beares where Buddha preached his first sermon; and Kusinārā after the place where he entered Nirvana. For Veluvana see below note to 78. 87.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 78. 91, 85, 96. According to the *Kunḍaliya* 2. 20 a *gāvuta* (sky, *garvita* or *garvita*) would be the equivalent of  $\frac{1}{4}$  *yojana* (cf. note to 88. 68 and I, p. 349) that is, if the Indian *yojana* as is likely, is the standard of measurement, a little over two miles according to the Buddhist *yojana* the half of that.

<sup>2</sup> P. *asabhaṇḍapatiṭṭhāra* = *asabhaṇḍapatiṭṭhāra* ca.

<sup>3</sup> If we reckon the *gāvuta* as over two miles then what is meant here could not possibly be the city with its ramparts alone which reached nothing like these dimensions, but the outlying open town as well.

<sup>4</sup> For the King's Gate, *rājadevī*, see note to 78. 190.

<sup>5</sup> The monkey king, Rāma's ally in his campaign against Rāvana, king of lankā.

<sup>6</sup> For Kurera see note to 87. 106, for the *rakghasa* note to 88. 34. Cugdi (the same in Skr.) is a name of the goddess Durgā, wife of Siva.

pent Gate and the resplendent Water Gate, further the Garden Gate and the beautiful Māyā Gate<sup>1</sup>, the Mahātittha Gate<sup>2</sup>, and the splendid Gandhabba Gate<sup>3</sup>.

104 In this manner did King Parakkamabāhu who possessed the firmness of the king of the mountains, whose intelligence was sharp as the thunderbolt, make the aforetime small town of Palatthiningara which had suffered by many wars, splendidly adorned as the city of the Tūratirpa gods.

Here ends the seventy-third chapter, called «Account of the Rebuilding of Palatthiningara», in the Mahāvagga, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> Māyā is the name of the mother of Gotama Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> Through this gate ran in all probability the road leading to Anurādhapura and from here to the well known port Mahātittha on the western shore of Ceylon.

<sup>3</sup> P. *gandhabba* = Skr. *gandharvā*, denotes a group of semi-divine beings who are regarded as the heavenly musicians. They are the male counterpart of the *orchard*, the *nymphs*.

## CHAPTER LXXIV

## ACCOUNT OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE TOOTH RELIC

With the idea that the original capital<sup>1</sup> Amrātlapurā 1 which had been utterly destroyed in every way by the Cola army, was specially deserving of honour, since its soil was 2 hallowed while he lived<sup>2</sup> by the feet of the Master, distinguished by the wheel with its thousand spikes and its rim, and because it was the place where the southern branch of a the sacred Bodhi tree (was planted) and where a doṣa<sup>3</sup> of reliquies was preserved — (with this idea) the Lord of men began to take in hand its restoration. Hereupon the discerning 5 Lord of men summoned a high dignitary and instructed him in accordance with his wishes. The latter accepted the charge 6 without disregarding it in any way, with bent head, made obeisance with clasped hands, betook himself to Amrātlapurā 7 and himself acquainted with the appropriate action, began to carry out to the uttermost the king's command. Within the 8 compass of the capital of the former kings the skilled one restored within a short time the large and the small walls, the streets, the pāśūnā and the gate towers, the charming 9

<sup>1</sup> P. *urāṇaśākhā*. The word *urāṇa* has a twofold meaning, that of "original" (as for instance in *urāṇabhasa* "primitive language") and that of "first" (to which everything else goes back, as in *urāṇavacana* "first dignitary", of "important", "pre-eminent").

<sup>2</sup> According to the legend the Buddha also visited the site of the future Amrātlapurā during his three sojourns in India. The picture of the wheel on the sole of the foot is one of the 82 great bodily marks of a *rañgavāni* (see D. II. 17), who will either become a great world ruler or a Buddha.

<sup>3</sup> A measure of capacity used specially for corn. Skr. *doṣa*.

bathing-ponds and the delightful gardens as they had been 10 formerly; also the cetiyas of the three fraternities, the Mahā-  
cetiya and the others, as well as the numerous vihāras such 11 as the Lehapāsāla and the like, as well as the pāsāda serving  
him as dwelling, with its gates, bastions and towers, with its 12 royal courtyard, and embellished with a charming moon  
chamber, and brought it about that the whole town furnished 13 with these and other marvellous works was as aforesome. Thus  
he had the buildings set up by many former kings repaired 14 in haste by one of his dignitaries. For all wishes are fulfilled  
for the wise who partake of the harvest of good deeds  
accumulated in many existences.

15 Hereupon the all-wise (Prince) laid the foundations of the  
town called Parakkama(*pura*)<sup>1</sup>. It was furnished with gates  
16 and towers, with walls, moats, streets, pāsādas and shops and  
adorned with parks which were embellished with pāsādās,  
erected there for the shelter of many hundreds of bhikkhus  
17 who strove after moral discipline and other virtues. It was  
superb, prosperous and wealthy like Alakamanda, the town  
of the gods, and ever crowded with people.

18 Then he issued orders as to the way in which the officials  
appointed over the various districts of the island of Sihala  
19 should collect without loss the taxes levied on each district  
without oppressing the people in their particular territory.  
20 Further in every month on the four Upasathā days, in ponds  
and all other places in the island of Lākā for all creatures

<sup>1</sup> A Parakkamapura is mentioned in 72. 151. It must have been situated in Dakkhinadeva. If that is the town meant here, *trāpasi* in v. 17 can only refer to its restoration and embellishment. Moreover Polathinagara itself bore the name of Parakkamapura. It was according to 70. 157 *ātānandamīla*, just as under Vijayalābu I. It was called according to the Vehikkura inscr. (EZ. II. 246), Vijayavānajaguru. I consider it not improbable that verses 15 to 17 also refer to Polathinagara and its restoration, and that the compiler who found the two names in different sources, referred them erroneously to two different towns. What he tells us of this Parakkamapura is in any case nothing more than the usual customary phrases. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. say nothing about the founding of a town Parakkamapura.

without exception, such as game, fish and the like, living on 21 dry land and in the water he commanded safety (of life), he who was himself threatened by no peril.

Now in the province of Rohana numerous vassals after 22 the death of the Monarch Mānābhārata, deviated from the right way<sup>1</sup>. Not knowing the character of King Parakkama, 23 and harassed in their hearts by fear they did not make their appearance before the Sovereign. As they thought again and again 24 of their own shortcomings their terror was in course of time redoubled. They knew in truth quite well that the great 25 courage of that lion-like King could not be surpassed by others; all they thought of was that not a day's life would remain 26 to them once the union of the kingdom had taken place<sup>2</sup>, but they thought not at all of the further course (of events). With speeches like this: "shall we ever permit a hostile army 27 even to set eyes on our country with its rivers, mountains and ravines?" they brought all the inhabitants of the pro- 28 vince under their influence and betook themselves to the Queen-mother Sugala<sup>3</sup>. "Thy grief, o Queen, called forth by Mānā- 29 bhārata's death, shall not torment thy heart as it pleases. Who then so long as we are in life, shall enter this our land 30 with its many inaccessible fastnesses?" With such like and 31 similar words they persuaded the Queen and all united, they built at each difficult spot as far as the frontier of the 32 country, numerous fortifications, which were immovable even by elephants, had trenches dug everywhere, placed there barri- 33

<sup>1</sup> P. *विगतिका*. The translation is uncertain. In Skr. *vigati* does not occur in literature. W. "were brought to great distress . . . and had become utterly helpless." I start from the fundamental meaning "to go out of", i. e. the right way.

<sup>2</sup> P. *रात्ति सम्प्रदामार्थिता*. I believe that *सम्प्रदामा* = Skr. *सम्प्रदीता* stands here as so often, in place of the abstract, as only in that case is the proper construction of the compound possible. The union of the kingdom consists in the incorporation of Rohana. The vassals fear that in such an event they will not escape justice.

<sup>3</sup> The consort of Sirivallabha (59. 45) and mother of the younger Mānābhārata.

odes of briars sharp-pointed as iron, made the roads inaccessible with felled and fallen trees. Thereupon all the soldiers native to the province, thousands in number rebelled and took up their place everyone in one of the big strongholds, girded for fight, well armed with offensive and defensive weapons, full of violence, with strong forces<sup>1</sup>. The Queen Sugalī who had not a mind capable of reflection and was inclined herself by nature to evil, let the fatal words of these people influence her. She made over to them the great possessions of pearls, jewels and the like over which she had control, as well as the rich treasures belonging to the Tooth and Alms-bowl Relics as if she were throwing them into the fire, gave them office, ignorant of the right and the wrong occasion, and began herself through them to start the revolt.

When the Lord of men Parakkamā whose courage was hardly to be surpassed, heard of these events he smiled gaily and joyously. He summoned his general Rakhaṇ by name, a war-tried man, told him how matters stood exactly as he had heard of them and spoke to him (thus): "Arise in haste, quench thoroughly the forest fire of the hostile army which has broken out with a rain shower of arrows, appoint people whom it is necessary to appoint, to keep the country in order and come again quickly." Thereupon he sent him off with strong forces.

Now the Sihala and Keraṇī (mercenaries) dwelling in Kotthānṭa<sup>2</sup> banded themselves together with the Velakkāra force<sup>3</sup> and took counsel together: "The Lord of men has sent forth many famous warriors together with high dignitaries to

<sup>1</sup> Verses 22-36 form one sentence. The subject is *āśvāta* in 22 which is again repeated by *gṛīḍā* in 34. The predicate is *āśvātāvā*. All the other verbs are gerunds with which are co-ordinated participles referring to the subject, or absolute locatives.

<sup>2</sup> The place lies not far from Pudathinagara in an easterly (south- or north-easterly) direction (see note to 61.43). According to our passage, it seems to have been a garrison for mercenaries.

<sup>3</sup> For the Keraṇīs see note to 50.9, for the Velakkāras note to 60.36. It is plain from our passage that the Velakkāras were a troop of Dravida mercenaries.

take Rokaya; let us meanwhile take possession of Ujjayaliganga." And they all of one accord began the war. King Parakkama-  
bahu before whom every sovereign bowed, sent some digni-  
ties who were heroes thither with fitting army and train.  
He had those slain who deserved it, granted several villages  
to those inhabitants living under a common selfgovernment,  
had a number of other villages made into such as were de-  
signed for the royal use<sup>1</sup> and free himself from fear<sup>2</sup> of any  
kind, he made an end of fear of the foe.

But after the general Itakka had with bowed head, pro-  
strate, received the command of the Great King he marched,  
the highly-flamed hero, from Palathinagara, betook himself  
to the locality named Barabulala<sup>3</sup> and halted there. When the  
whole of the forces in Rohana together with the inhabitants  
of the province<sup>4</sup> received news, in accordance with the facts,  
of his gradual approach, they came to the decision: "as long  
as we are in life we shall not permit him to cross the fron-

<sup>1</sup> It is plain from this passage that certain villages had been assigned to the mercenaries for maintenance. In addition to the exertion of their ringleaders (18a-b) they are now punished by the withdrawal of such villages which means a decrease in their revenues. Of the villages taken away some are allotted to peasant-holders<sup>5</sup> as communal property (yāga), others are declared royal property. I do not believe therefore, that W. is right in translating *gāya* by "assemblies of monks". *Gāya* here is rather the technical, administrative term *gāya*, the same, cf. H. W. C. 1908, 88. For mediæval village constitution in Ceylon on which this passage throws a side-light, see H. W. C. 1908, II C, p. 45 ff.

<sup>2</sup> P. *magga* includes the two concepts: fear (subjective) and danger (objective). Cf. above v. 21.

<sup>3</sup> H. W. C. discusses the campaigns described in 74, 50 ff. in his "Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth century". Unfortunately the place names mentioned in verses 68-78 cannot be determined. Later details show however, that this part of the campaign took place in the districts on the right bank of the Malavaganga, mainly in Bintenne and the adjoining regions. Horribulu, Kandukavamu, Ambalata, Saru, Devadundulabāpura, Kingakavapura, Valuvalikaththu, Deththendulapura and Saludara are unknown.

<sup>4</sup> P. *malavāt* and *pathavāt*: contrast between the regular army and the militia.

54 tier of our kingdom and enter here<sup>1</sup>, and with great fury,  
 recking nothing of their life, they marched to the same place  
 55 intent on the opening of hostilities. Thereupon the general  
 Rakkha gave this army fearful battle, slew many soldiers,  
 56 broke through the trees which they had felled and hung across  
 the road, and with large forces reached the place called  
 57 Kanyakavana<sup>2</sup>. He fought with the hostile army that had  
 taken up its position there by the building of a stronghold,  
 58 broke through the fortifications, forced an entrance and after  
 robbing many thousand warriors of their life, he marched  
 59 farther and came to the place called Ambalalu. He offered  
 battle to the army stationed there, broke through the strong-  
 60 hold there and made the whole battlefield full of flesh and  
 blood. Then he marched from there farther, broke through  
 61 the strong fortification of Saya and slew many soldiers. Be-  
 yond this lay the forest Divācandanābhājava hemmed in on  
 62 both sides of the accessible road by high mountains, and where  
 just at its heart the road was endangered and all traffic made  
 impossible by many huge trees which they had felled and  
 63 thrown down. In this forest from one to two gāvutas in extent  
 the hostile army had laid down one behind the other seven  
 64 very inaccessible fortifications whose stout gates were not to  
 be shaken even by rutting elephants. Against this army that  
 had firmly determined: "we shall in no case permit him to  
 enter as he thinks fit into any single stronghold occupied by  
 65 us"<sup>3</sup> he delivered for several months day and night terrible  
 66 battles and while he slaughtered many thousands of warriors  
 together with their leaders, the general Rakkha with large  
 forces took up a position on the spot<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. "Thorn wood". The part. chendūla is parallel with *maranta* in 53 c, chendūla is subordinate to the part. pātīla. Cf. *chīvapīti-*  
*tarikkhi* in 53 c, as also *chendūla pātīla* (*raikkhi*) in 52 b.

<sup>2</sup> I should prefer here to place the full stop after *sabbaka* and thus  
 take this word in the *anulōkya*. For the position of *ti* see note to 37.114.

<sup>3</sup> Verses 55—56 form one sentence. Subj. *Rakkharanūdha* in  
 55 a, again repeated by *maranta* in 56 d; pred. is *niśidhītha* in  
 56 c. The construction in v. 61—65 is as follows: . . . "after he is in the

When the hero, the Great King Parakkama, heard during 67 his sojourn in Pulatthinagara from the mouth of the messengers of Rakkha's constant battles, he gave orders to the 68 Adhikārin Bhūta who dwelt in his palace thus: "An indecisive struggle for so long a time with these wretched rebels is fitting neither for me nor for thee; smite in pieces according 69 to these my orders the whole of the fortifications along with their gados, slay the whole of the numerous army and send 70 me then speedily a true report of these doings." He assigned him numbers of soldiers and sent this man experienced in the 71 art of war, to the scene of the fight<sup>1</sup>.

Hereupon Bhūta marched forth from superb Pulatthinagara 72 and joined with strong forces the commander-in-chief Rakkha. Without in any way departing from the orders of the illustrious 73 Lord of men, they both had doublets of buffalo hide made (for their men) for protection against the arrows, made the 74 great army ready for battle, offered a sharp encounter, slew numerous warriors, many hundreds in number, broke through 75 the seven strongholds, laid down as they were one behind the other, started from there again and came to the village of Kipsukavatthuka<sup>2</sup>. Here too they fought a fearful, bitter 76 fight. Then after they had set out from there and had reached Vatprakktutthali, and after they had here destroyed a hostile 77

forest D. [61 d] . . . (here follow the attributes 61 d to 63 a) . . . with the army (65 b), which, after it . . . had set up fortifications (63 b — 64 a), was firmly determined . . . had fought (66 d) . . . ?

<sup>1</sup> It is plain that Rakkha's action in the difficult ground of the Divicandantabhatta forest had come to a standstill. Bhūta is sent to his aid. Cf. further the note to v. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Here one might assume the end of the sentence, since the part. *yañca* may be regarded as a finite verb. But the subject changes in the sentence. In v. 72 the sing. *sa* is subject; but *yañca* must be supplemented by *as* who (after Bhūta's joining with Rakkha). *Mārūta* which is the reading of all the MSS. (= skr. *māravatī*) must also be taken as plural. In the continuation of the sentence there is again a change of subject. At first *as* we see by *satteṣā*, the plural *tañhū* remains subject. Then in v. 73 it is the singular *Rakkhasawinītā*. The preceding gerundives in verses 76—78 b are to be treated as loc. abs.

army which had approached from various directions, and thereupon offered battle at the village called Dâbhâvâddhâna and had further fought an action at the village called Suhodara,  
 78 the general Rakka who had large forces and train with him,  
 79 sent on many thousands of warriors of his own neighbourhood<sup>1</sup>  
 80 to do away with the hostile army at Lokesgalla. Then he de-  
 stroyed a vast hostile army that approached with the intention  
 meanwhile of overwhelming the commander-in-chief (Rakka),  
 and retired<sup>2</sup>.

81 The great four-membered army that had marched to Loka-  
 galla so utterly destroyed the division there that only the  
 82 tilings thereof remained, took away from it all its possessions<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I take *shayetrâna* in the sense of "putting aside for a particular purpose." By the removal of a considerable part of Rakka's troops the foe is emboldened to make fresh attacks. The operations which H. W. Cousensius certainly interprets aright i. e., now become topographically intelligible. Events hitherto have taken place along a line east of the Mahâveliganga. Rakka probably follows the main road leading from Dastnâ by way of Muhiyâgânu (Alut-murâra) to Lîbile. With Cousensius we may look for Subodangâma somewhere in the region of Lîbile. Here Rakka is forced to halt, to see in the first place his threatened right flank. The name Lokesgalla without doubt corresponds to the modern Loggala.<sup>4</sup> There is a small rivine of this name which rises on the saddle of Pâsâra and flows northwards to the Mahâveliganga which it joins just where the river bends at right angles to the east. I am informed by Mudaliar Wâxârenâna-Bâdulla that an old short cut led across the saddle of Pâsâra from Kuttala along the Loggala-oya to the Mahâveliganga. The rebels had reckoned with the possibility that the enemy might use this road for their advance and had occupied it. Rakka however, advances farther east along the main road. A farther penetration southwards lays him open to the risk however, of being attacked in the flank from Loggala or cut off in the rear. Hence the expedition in this direction briefly described here.

<sup>2</sup> All MSS. have *judigant*, I will not risk altering it. Moreover it makes good sense. Rakka cannot for the moment advance. He is content to release himself from the foe who is pressing hard on him. Too much stress need not be laid upon the word *cut up* in § 4. It merely expresses the successful defence.

<sup>3</sup> W. translates: ... "Yet could they not completely cut off their great resources?" He has misunderstood *arshashântam*. What we have to do

and betook itself then to the place where the commander-in-chief was sojourning. The two armies joined forces, advanced 83 to *Mujhimagūma*<sup>1</sup> and here made the firm resolve: "We shall not permit the commander-in-chief in *Lokagalla* to seize the 84 sacred 'Tooth Relic and the precious Alms-bowl Relic'." At 85 the village of *Kapṭakadvāravīṭa*<sup>2</sup> they fought a great battle with the hostile army, destroyed the troops of the enemy and then marched to *Uddhanavīṭa*. With the hostile army which 86 after laying down fortifications, had taken up a position there they fought a severe action, blew up the fortifications along 87 with their gates, destroyed many of the enemy and took up a position in that village to equip army and train (anew). Queen Sugalī took the sacred relics, the Tooth and the Alms- 88 bowl, and betook herself to *Uravelī*.

With here is not the *ā* *prīt*, *ā* *chīd*<sup>3</sup>, but the frequently used verb *acchīdīti* "to take away by force" (skr. *ā* *chīd*; cf. PTS. P. D. 4. 4.) The *dhāraṇītā* which has been taken away consists of course of elephants, horses, chariots, arms.

<sup>1</sup> Now *Medugam*, 10 miles south of *Bibile*. It still lies on the highroad leading from *Mahīgam* in the south to *Pelvānārām*. According to H. W. Coomaraswamy lately a milestone was discovered with a short inscription of *Nisantha Malla* (letter of 20th Dec. 1927).

<sup>2</sup> *Lokagalla* *dhāraṇītā* *dhīdīrī* cannot possibly be the subject of the principal sentence as W. assumes. That must be sought rather in *de* *ved* in 83a. There is no reason either why the generals who had fought at *Lokagalla* should be set upon the gaining of the sacred reliques. In a far greater degree was this the case with *Rakkha*. The idea is rather this: Parakkamī's generals fear that the hostile troops which had been defeated at *Lokagalla* might withdraw to the main army and there insist above all on safeguarding the reliques, since all was already lost in the field. This *Rakkha* and his followers were determined at all costs to prevent.

<sup>3</sup> H. W. Coomaraswamy compares this with a *perīt* *Kulapellā*. I cannot find the name either in the Census or on the map. *Sinh. prītā* means "gate" = P. *drīra*.

<sup>4</sup> For *Uddhanavīṭa* see note to 61. 18. It was situated near *Mannangala*, thus about 10 to 12 miles SSE. of *Medugam*. According to 61. 25 it was the capital of that part of *Bolava* called *Abhūvānī* which was ruled by *Sirivallabha*. Here his widow *Sugalī* lived and the sacred reliques were kept in her neighbourhood. *Uravelī* whether she

89 But for the purpose of disposing of the hostile army in  
 90 Dighavāpi<sup>1</sup> the Lord of men Parakkamā had sent forth with  
 an army the Adhikārin Kitti and the Jitapotthakīn Kitti and  
 91 yet other dignitaries with a thoroughly equipped army and  
 92 train<sup>2</sup>. They engaged the foe who coming from the direction  
 of Erāhu<sup>3</sup>, had taken up a position at the village called  
 93 Givulāba, in a terrible battle, broke through their fortifications  
 there, killed many enemies, started from there again and  
 94 reached Uddhagāma. There they laid down fortifications, carried  
 on war for three months and put the great army to flight.  
 95 With a hostile army that had erected fortifications near the  
 locality called Hihoba, had dug trenches and spread thorn  
 bushes, and which with massed troops had taken up a position  
 96 ready for combat, they then fought a terrible battle. They broke  
 through the whole stronghold together with the gates and  
 entered by force repulsing each attack with a hail of arrows<sup>4</sup>.  
 97 Thereupon they advanced farther and scattered as before, a  
 hostile army that at a spot about a gāvuta in extent beside  
 98 the village of Kirindagāma had as before set up fortifications  
 and there taken up a position, and halted with vast forces at  
 the place called Dighavāpi<sup>5</sup>.

brought them for safety is identified with good reason by Colunmara with Ethinole which is situated about 5 to 6 miles south-east of Monaragala. What is curious is that Sugulā when she is forced to flee, does not put a greater distance between herself respectively the relics, and the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> PARKER (Ancient Ceylon, p. 390) was the first as far as I know, to identify this and rightly so with Mahankandiyawewa, 25 to 30 miles N.E. of Bihile and about the same distance S.W. of Ratticala. The Rāte-mahāmaya Bihile assured me that the old name Dikveta is still well known among the people.

<sup>2</sup> I do not believe that the expedition is only now set going after the occupation of Uddhagāma by Rakkaṇa. It is far more likely that it was begun earlier by the two Kittis, probably sent off by Parakkamā at the same time with Bhūta. The author is going back in his description.

<sup>3</sup> Colunmara is assuredly right in identifying this with the present district Eravur, N.W. of Ratticala.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. They made the combat easy where it was difficult for anyone to come near (śāradādāru).

<sup>5</sup> The single localities mentioned such as Uddhagāma, Hihoba,

The Ruler of men, Parakkama, the best of far-seeing men, 99 sent to his dignitaries who were at that place, the following message: "Shattered<sup>1</sup> in combat the foe is in flight, 100 They have seized the splendid sacred relics of the Alms-bowl and the Tooth and are faint. Through fear, to cross the sea, 101 So have I heard. If this is so, then the island of Janikā will be desolate. For though here on the Sihala island various 102 jewels and pearls and the like and costly kinds of various precious stones are found, yet of quite incomparable costliness 103 are the two sacred relics of the Lord of truth, the Tooth and the Alms-bowl. At the cost of much valuable property and 104 by the constant amassing of well-tried and armed warriors I have freed this superb island of Lankā from every oppression, 105 but all my pains would be fruitless<sup>2</sup>. My head adorned with 106 a costly diadem sparkling with the splendour of various precious stones, would only be consecrated<sup>3</sup> by the longed-for contact 107 with the two sacred relics of the Great Master, the Tooth and the Alms-bowl. Therefore must ye all, with the same 108 end in view, with army and train and without in any way departing from the orders I give, conquer the hostile army 109 and speedily send me the splendid Tooth Relic and the sacred Alms-bowl." The Adhikarin-Kitti by name who was in the 110 district of Dighavāpi, received his message with bowed head, and with his division after assembling about him the many 111 leaders, he marched to the place which the commander-in-chief

Kirinda cannot be determined. At any rate this Kirinda is different from the place of the same name on the coast south of Tissamahārāma. Doubtless however, these events took place on a line running from north to south west of Batticaloa. Moreover the object of the whole undertaking is intelligible. By pressure on the right wing of the enemy the thrust against the main position in the centre at Uddhanavāva was to be eased. The army columns then unite at Uddhanavāva for the decisive blow (v. 111, 118).

<sup>1</sup> P. *hūmūdītū* in a passive sense. See Colava, ed. I, Introd. p. XV.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "These by me, the island liberator, made efforts will be perfectly *rahūmā* ("at one's own pleasure") fruitless."

<sup>3</sup> P. *paritītī* (lit. "purified") with reference to *uttamāgāmī*, because this ("the head") is only a *paraphrase* for the person ("my head" = "I").

112 (Rakkha) was occupying. A vast army consisting of hostile  
 113 divisions and inhabitants of the country<sup>1</sup>, advanced with all  
 114 its leaders, plentifully supplied with arms, equipped for combat,  
 115 brave, a veritable host of heroes, against the village of  
 116 Uddhunadvīpa, full of lust for battle. "Of the enemy who  
 117 have invaded our country we shall not let a single foe escape.  
 118 On the road which would be the line of retreat of the foe  
 119 we shall place barricades and make the roads to an extent  
 120 of two to three gāvutas impassable and posted about the terri-  
 121 tory occupied by the enemy cut off the supply of food. Then  
 122 when the whole hostile army is weakened we shall fight an  
 123 action with it in which because of our rain of arrows they  
 124 will have difficulty in approaching us<sup>2</sup>, and destroy them."

So thought the army and after it had in the way above  
 125 described, put up strong barricades it took up a position,  
 126 keen for battle. Thereupon the Adhikārin Bhūta, the com-  
 127 mander-in-chief Rakkha and the Athikārin called Kitti, the  
 128 heroes, crushers of the hostile army, after equipping their  
 129 great army on the battle-field advanced thence according to  
 130 orders all together and destroyed in a terrible combat a great  
 131 number of soldiers so that nought but their name remained.  
 132 They broke with large forces through the stronghold called  
 133 Mahārāma, marched thence further, assembled all of them at  
 134 the place Vayalaggama by name and war-experienced (as they  
 135 were) took up a position there. The hostile army which was  
 136 lying opposite in the district called Sammangallī they destroy-  
 137 ed in the way described above, and after they had in a terrible  
 138 battle which was fought at the place called Bulaguga scattered  
 139 in desperate battle the entire army of the foe which stood here  
 140 and had also put to flight in combat the whole army which after  
 141 laying down fortifications in the district called Uravelī, had  
 142 taken up their position there, they took possession of the

<sup>1</sup> I read *aspatthorapikā* and believe this adjective belongs to the *nakṣatra* of the following compound. We have thus again the distinction between the regular troops and the militia.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above v. 96 and note.

splendid reliques of the sacred Bowl and of the sacred Tooth and halted on the spot at the head of their mighty army'.

At that time an officer of King Mūnābharya, the general 127 by name Sūkarabhātadeva, the foolish one, who had been placed 128 in chains by King Parakkama, had burst his fetters and had escaped to Rohana. Then the Ruler of men summoned the 129 *Adhikārin* Mañju<sup>4</sup> and spake to him (thus): "The general 130 Sūkarabhātū has fled to his country, thou must come up with 131 him before he has gained a hold anywhere." Therewith 132 the Lord of men sent him off. He betook himself from Po- 133 laithinagara to the place called Sūpatagamu<sup>5</sup>. There he fought 134 a great battle with the hostile army. He slew many soldiers 135 and after laying down a fortification took up a position him- 136 self there at the head of his large army.

Now<sup>6</sup> all the many rebels, each in his division, roused the 137 whole population of the country down to the very boys (in

<sup>3</sup> Herewith one object of the warlike operations has been attained. The actions described in vv. 129-126 must have taken place in a relatively limited territory SE. of the modern Monaragala. As the sequel shows, Parakkama's generals had obviously not yet advanced as far as Guttārāla (Buttalai) (cf. v. 154, 166).

<sup>4</sup> It is remarkable that the MSS. have the form Mandu. Likewise 75, 102, 188. It is however beyond doubt that the same general is meant as the one mentioned in 74, 144, 75, 180 as Mañju.

<sup>5</sup> Consonant identifies this with the eastern Hapatgamuva. It lies about 8 miles NW. of Badulla in the Vijnuvu Kōrale, on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga at the spot where it flows from west to east. This throws light on the whole episode. Since Sūkarabhātū has crossed the Mahaveliganga, it may be said that he has escaped to Rohana. His object was plainly to organise the rebellion in Malaya, in the rear and flank of Rakkha's troops. For that reason Parakkamabahu is forced to send a new division against him. Mañju suppresses the movement in Malaya, Sūkarabhātū himself however, escapes, joins the rebels in position opposite Rakkha, and takes over the leadership here in the sequel (see v. 158). Mañju remains posted for the moment in order to safeguard the flank of the main army.

<sup>6</sup> I believe that v. 182 closes the Sūkarabhātū episode for the moment. The sequel takes place as v. 186 shows, in front of Rakkha's army. A more exact localisation is impossible, since the individual places cannot be identified. The situation only becomes clear again in v. 154.

134 open revolt). With the firm resolve, even at the sacrifice of their life, not to give up the two relics of the Tooth and of 135 the Alms-bowl, they assembled with hostile intent, mastered 136 by insolence, at the village called Bhattasöpa. Thereupon the 137 commander-in-chief Raksha, as also the Adhikarin Kitti and 138 the Adhikarin Bhūta and many other officers gave terrible 139 battle to the hostile army, and skilled in war as they were, 140 let not two escape by the same way. They took, in loyal 141 devotion to the King, the Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic 142 with them, instituted a great sacrificial festival and withdrew 143 unthwarted from any quarter. Now the whole hostile army, 144 well equipped, having taken up arms with fury, gathered 145 together from every side<sup>1</sup> at the place called Demaparala and 146 fought a mighty, terrible and horror-rousing battle<sup>2</sup>. By the 147 (corpses of the) men slain in the terrible fight and (the mass 148 of) the cast-off weapons the commander (Raksha) and the 149 other dignitaries, left (the foe) on every side not even room 150 to place their feet, and after taking<sup>3</sup> with them the splendid 151 reliques of the sacred Bowl and of the sacred Tooth, they reached 152 the village named Suppanārukabokilla.

153 Carried off by an attack of dysentery, the commander Raksha now went thither in accordance with his doing — all 154 living forms are indeed transitory. The two adhikarins Muñja 155 and Kitti by name<sup>4</sup> without omitting any honour due to his

<sup>1</sup> Demaparala according to Guṇavatī is now even the name for Okkampitiya which lies a few miles E. of Butthū. Popular tradition identifies the vihāra of Okkampitiya with the monastery where Goldhāthā found refuge after his defeat in battle by his brother Daṭṭhagāmī. See Mhv. 24, 39 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 140 a is hopelessly corrupt. According to the somewhat high-handed emendation of S. and B. W. translates "the whole army of the enemy that was at Yāpi".

<sup>3</sup> Note that the line *gabherā purave daṭṭhapattihatubhāmatake* is exactly the same as v. 126 a b. Nevertheless *gabherā* in the two places must be taken in a different sense. As in this passage a chain of 6 gūḍas appears in the same way as those appear elsewhere, the line may be a later addition. The intention was to stress that Raksha took the reliques along with him on all his expeditions. Cf. v. 188.

<sup>4</sup> One expects that along with Kitti Bhūta would be mentioned

rank, carried out the ceremonies of the dead<sup>1</sup>. Now that the 145 wise commander was dead and the Ruler of men tarried afar off, they brought together with exceeding energy the whole 146 army of the Sovereign who was endowed with terrible courage, and while these heroes allowed no possibility of any sort for 147 any kind of panic and celebrated a great festival for the two 148 sacred reliques, they sent their report to the illustrious Ruler 149 of men and tarried yet a few days on the spot. When the 150 Sovereign Parakkamā heard of these events he had erected<sup>2</sup> on the spot where the commander had been burnt, a vast 151 alms-hall with four entrances, and in order to honour (the 152 dead) by sacrifice he sent the (following) order: "Collect for 153 those bhikkhus coming from the four regions of the heavens 154 and for the other bhikkhus a plentiful gift of alms." (Thus) 155 he (commanded), the best among the grateful, the first among 156 those who have attained knowledge. The two experienced 157 commanders joyfully carried out the order in fitting manner and remained on the spot.

The rebels thought, since the commander-in-chief was dead 153 and they (themselves) had gained a leader in Sūkrabbhāti, they would meanwhile try for victory, and all gathered together in the district of Guttasālī<sup>3</sup>. When the vast, foe- 154 crushing army of King Parakkamā heard that, it advanced 155 with its leaders, fighting at various places a severe action, from all sides against the district of Guttasālī. Thereupon all 156

here. Cf. the association in v. 119, 130. Matju is still in position (v. 166 ff.) in the N. W., in Mahayn. He had thus merely to be summoned to the funeral rites.

<sup>1</sup> P. petabīcūni. According to the Brahmanical view as it is here and often expressed in ceremonial, the deceased before he is admitted to the world of the manes, becomes a *preta* a "roaming soul". The *chandīgatāvādīlin* is offered to the *preta*. *Buddhismus*, Ritualliteratur p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> I am now of opinion that direct speech begins first at 150 c. The general *kāreśvā* is, as seems clear from 149 c-d, to be subordinated to the finite verb *peset*.

<sup>3</sup> Now the modern Battala. See note to 61. 109. The agent of the contests and the further course of the operations is now again perfectly clear.

the rebels gave up this village and withdrew through fear to  
 158 the village (and) district of Malūgāma<sup>1</sup>. When the Sovereign  
 Parakkama heard of these events he of matchless bravery sent  
 159 a messenger with the order: "That ye fight as chance wills  
 it, while dragging the relics about from village to village  
 160 pleaseth me not. Send ye both relics at once to me." When  
 161 the commanders of the army received this message they with  
 the intention of sending the sacred relics, the Tooth and the  
 162 Bowl to Pulathinagara, entrusted an officer with their care,  
 started from the village called Hīntālavanagāma, and after they  
 163 had as before fought a terrible battle with the approaching  
 hostile army at Khiragāma<sup>2</sup> and had put it to flight on all  
 164 sides, they entered Khiragāma, fought here also a severe action  
 and cut down many. Then they marched farther from that  
 place, fighting at Tunagaluka, and Sukhagirigāma, at Kaja-  
 165 dorāvāla<sup>3</sup> and Ambagalla<sup>4</sup>, as well as at Tāndulapatta like-  
 wise a furious action, and after bringing hither with great  
 pomp both relics, the Tooth and the Bowl, they sent them  
 166 to the Adhikārin Mañju. This (officer) had at the village  
 called Sākhāpatta<sup>5</sup> and at Lokagalla cut down many soldiers  
 and brought all the dwellers in (the district of) Dīnūntimadala<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Now Magama, the old capital of Rohana (see note to 45. 42) in the agricultural district of Tissamahārāma.

<sup>2</sup> Khiragāma is the place where according to 79. 71 (cf. note to the paññegā) a cetiya was erected to Queen Ratnāvallī who was cremated there. Commissioner as he informs me by letter (20th Dec. 1927) has discovered this site in Kudalkumbura near Alupola in the Kundukurn Korale, about halfway between Battūla and Medagama. It is situated not far from the old high road. It is not impossible that we have to do in r. 162 ff. with movements of retreat in a northerly direction from Battūla, since Battūla and Kittī were trying to get into touch with Mañju. For Hīntālavanagāma see also note to 76. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the same as the Kasānukāvāma mentioned 74. 88. Thus Commissioner.

<sup>4</sup> W. separates the compound Kāñcudorāvāla-Bambagallake into Kāñcudorā-  
 vāla-Bambagallake which I consider impossible.

<sup>5</sup> According to Commissioner the same as Sūpātagāma; certainly right. The latter form is nearer to the Sinhalese.

<sup>6</sup> The mention of Lokagalla now Loggula (see note to 74. 79) shows

into his power. He was stationed there, went forth to meet 167 the relics of the Tooth and the Bowl, celebrated for them sacrificial festivals day and night, entrusted the Kammanātha 168 Arjana with the care of the relics and sent the two relics to the Great King. Thereupon he set forth, marched to the vil- 169 lage called Bokusalā and held counsel, being versed in counsel, with all the dignitaries: "Our foes know their own country. 170 When we come near them they disperse on every side, pene- 171 trate then (again) into the territory that we have brought 172 into our power, in order to conquer it, and vex the people. But would our master, the world conqueror, prize as much as 173 a blade of grass, a kingdom even if it were utterly subdued, but by disregard of his commands, he who knows the course of war? Therefore will we honour the command of 174 our illustrious monarch and in order that the foe may not be able to return to the territory<sup>1</sup> already subdued by us, post 175 there at different places a strong force with officers, and when thus our enemies have their roots cut off by us, we will set 176 forth to lay our heads at the foot lotus of our master." Thus 177 he resolved who was wise among those who understand decisions. Hereupon all the dignitaries who agreed with his words, set forth with the vast army, ready for battle, and 178 marched to the village of Vālivāsargāma in a district where many roads meet. After they had arrived there and deprived 179 many foes of their life, they set forth thence and built a fortification at the place called Bahupāśāna. Having posted there the Lankāpura<sup>2</sup> Kitti and another large army consisting

that Mañju was still in position near the place where he had come into contact with Sūkurnātha (74. 131 and note). From 70. 17 it is clear that Menamangala was a district in Matuya, approximately corresponding to the present Viyalava division.

<sup>1</sup> The gen. *asikkhāna bhāsava* stands instead of the loc. governed by *parasanti*. Cf. Cilic. ed. L, Introd. p. XVI.

<sup>2</sup> W. translates "Kitti and Lankāpura". He takes the last-named apparently for the general of this name (76. 63) often mentioned in the sequel to whom apparently 70. 218 also refers. According to the last passage this Lankāpura was the son of the Lankādhinātha Kitti.

of the four members, all the dignitaries and leaders set forth 180 at the head of the main army with large forces to subdue from one strip of country to the other the numerous rebels in the district called Dīghavāpi<sup>1</sup>.

181 Meanwhile the ruler of the kingdom, King Parakkamabahu, tarried in beauteous Pulathinagru where there was no war 182 trouble. Endowed with the gifts of faith and insight and with the effects of many meritorious works, he the first among 183 those versed in art, spent the day in pleasant pastimes. But now when he learned that the relics were gradually drawing nearer, he spake, his heart full of the greatest satisfaction 184 and joy: "In truth a great gain for me! Blessed is my life, the finest fruit of my labours for the peace of the realm is 185 mine now that I may behold and reverence these two relics of the Monarch of sages." With these and the like exclama- 186 tions he the virtuous one, went forth well bathed, beautifully clad, well anointed and beautifully adorned at the head of 187 the festively arrayed princes and dignitaries, like to the moon in autumn when it is surrounded by the stars, the distance 188 of a yojana to meet (the relics). At the first glimpse he who was honoured by the pious, honoured them with all kinds of ornaments, with the most varied kinds of precious stones and 189 pearls, with costly jewels, with all kinds of incense, with lamps 190 and sweet-smelling flowers and with many perfumes giving expression to his reverence, as if the Enlightened One were 191 still in life. Uneasiness shedding tears of joy and with tiny hairs bristling as if the inward rapture had burst forth, 192 beautifying his whole body, and with floods of the highest 193 joy making drunk his soul, as if he possessed limbs which were overwhelmed by showers of the finest nectar, the stand-

<sup>1</sup> Mahā's plan was plainly this, to suppress the rebels which were constantly breaking out in the rear of the army stationed at Guṭṭesālū-  
Nuttala, in the same way as he had until now covered the flank in  
Dhananayakala. Hence he now marched eastwards into the Dīghavāpi  
district. In Mhv, 76, 3, 4 Rāhupāśānti is likewise associated with Dīgha-  
vāpi. Verses 176—180 form one sentence in which the subject *sabbe*  
'recess' (v. 176) is once more repeated by *sabbe 'weccu' parthena* or (v. 179)

fast one, the superb one bore the splendid Tooth Relic on his head, like to the Moon-bearer<sup>1</sup> who bears the crescent moon upon his head. He showed all his companions the two reliques 194 while well versed in the sacred writings, he proclaimed their glory, and after he the all-wise had had a great sacrificial 195 festival celebrated by them (his companions) the Ruler of men had the reliques laid down on the spot<sup>2</sup>. He who kept a watch 196 over all his senses, set up a strong guard; he commanded that gifts of every kind should be offered, and then his heart filled 197 with the joy of faith, he returned with his dignitaries and his train to his abode like god Brâhma to the Brâhma palace.

Thereupon the King had erected in the middle of the 198 town for the Tooth Relic a splendid temple of fine proportions, like to the hall of assembly, Sudhammâ<sup>3</sup>. From the King's 199 Gate onward<sup>4</sup> he had the road for the distance of a yojana made perfectly level like the palm of the hand. Then he who 200 had his joy in the welfare of all beings, had erected everywhere triumphal arches with coloured pictures on them that delighted the heart of the people, and beneath these outspread 201

<sup>1</sup> Name of Siva who is represented with the crescent moon in the hair above his forehead.

<sup>2</sup> P. *uttara* *esa*, i. e. just at the spot where he had raised the Tooth Relic to his head and showed it to his train. According to vr. 187, 199 it was about a yojana (that is about nine miles) from the southern door of the town. Here the reliques are kept provisionally until their festive entry into the town.

<sup>3</sup> See *sâdâ sâdârûpa*, the hall of the god Indra. E. W. Horsfall, *Epic Mythology*, p. 58. It is difficult to say which building in Pûnâravâna is meant by this *dagdâshâlîgâra*. According to 73, 124 ff. Mahînda one of the King's followers had built such a temple. Later on (75, 41) the circular building in Jîvavâcâma is mentioned as the temple of the Tooth Relic. This one can however scarcely be meant in this passage, as it would be difficult to compare it with a *sâdâ*. Probably the reliques were changed about from place to place and this is reflected in a certain vagueness of the tradition.

<sup>4</sup> See 73, 160. As the reliques were brought hither from the south we may assume that the King's Gate lay in this direction. The loc. *ra-jâdârâmkâ* in place of the abl. with *parîkhyâ* is explained by the influence of the metre. Likewise 75, 72.

canopies<sup>1</sup> tied with garlands of all kinds of flowers in gaily-hued succession. The pillars of the triumphal arches he decked singly with different staffs and the upper part he provided 202 with rows of umbrellas and whisks<sup>2</sup>, with bunches of all kinds 203 of flowers, with fluttering cloths<sup>3</sup> and banners and other costly 204 things fit as votive offerings. The two sides of the street he 205 embellished with fruit-bearing trees, such as saurâras<sup>4</sup>, latâma, 206 areka and coco palms and furnished them with vases filled 207 with charming nosegays, with all kinds of banners and pennons, 208 with lamps and incenses and the like, and adorned the road, 209 capable of distinguishing the true from the false way, like the 210 street Sudassana of the lord of the thirty gods<sup>5</sup>. Then after he 211 who understood how to win good people for himself, had speedily 212 furnished the gate court of the temple of the Tooth Relic 213 like to (the town) Alakî<sup>6</sup>, the Monarch had a priceless jewel 214 hollowed out and filled with sweet-smelling powder. Here the 215 Increaser of the realm placed the superb Tooth Relic, then 216 laid the jewel in a casket of precious stones and this again 217 he placed in a costly box of gold. But the Bowl Relic he 218 placed in a costly golden mangûpa that sparkled with the 219 rays of various precious stones, that was wonderful and 220 shimmering like the rainbow, that rested on four wheels, that 221 was indeed lovely and like to a bundle of rays of the rising 222 sun, on a beautifully arranged seat covered with costly carpets 223 in a sweet-smelling layer of flowers. Then he capable of 224 maintaining what has been won, made people of the clan of

<sup>1</sup> P. *śântâvâya pântâvâya*, lit. "outspreadings of canopies." *Vidâra*, *anupasangîta* precedes. The stretching out of the canopy is described by the three derivatives of the root *sa* (with *ti*, *pa* and *saŋg*).

<sup>2</sup> The whisk, *čâmu*, made of the tail of the yak, *bos grunniens*, belongs like the umbrella to the insignia of royalty.

<sup>3</sup> P. *śitâñgâ*. The word cannot mean "canopy" again here. The instrumentals in v. 202 d and 203 are governed by *saŋgâ*.

<sup>4</sup> Name of the King's elephant.

<sup>5</sup> P. *śântâvâdî*. Andra or Sakra is meant. Tridâta is also in Skr. a general designation for the gods. Sudassana is in epic poetry the name of Indra's palace (R. W. Hoernle, Epic Mythology, p. 65, 141).

<sup>6</sup> The name as Alakâmadâpî (95, 106), town of the God Kavayî.

the Lambakuyyas with umbrellas, whisks and swords in their hands and other people of noble families place themselves 214 round the maṇḍapa for its protection. Round about the 215 maṇḍapa he placed splendidly attired dancing girls in many hundreds of (other) costly maṇḍapas, each of these being 216 accompanied by people bearing lutes, flutes, drums and the like 217 in their hands and by bands of female musicians who were 218 like to the heavenly musicians<sup>1</sup>, to do honour with their dance, 219 their song and their music (to the relies). With all kinds of 220 flowers, with incense and various perfumes he filled the town 221 with fragrance<sup>2</sup> and delighted the crowd of people. With the 222 light of many thousands of lamps he transformed the heavenly 223 regions and the intermediate regions into pure glory. With 224 rows of umbrellas and whisks, with rows of coloured banners 225 and all kinds of pennons he veiled the whole firmament. With 226 the trumpeting of elephants and the neighing of horses, with 227 the clatter of chariot wheels and the rattle of kettledrums; 228 with the enrapturing tone of all the festive shell trumpets, 229 with the roll of the great drums and the cries of victory of 230 the hards; with the shouts of acclamation and loud clapping 231 of hands and the jubilant cries (of the people) he filled the 232 regions of the heavens with noise<sup>3</sup>. The Monarch himself 233 arrayed with all his ornaments, mounted his favourite, beautiful 234 elephant<sup>4</sup> which was hung with coverings of gold, and sur-

<sup>1</sup> P. *gandhabbi*. The *gandhabbi*, skr. *gandharvī* are semi-divine beings, the heavenly musicians. They are thought of as males, their feminine counterpart are the Apsaras. A feminine *gandhabbi* could only arise in the Pāli stage after the more general meaning "musician (pure and simple)" had been turned for the masculine alongside of the original meaning.

<sup>2</sup> P. *utayit* from the demon, *čāsi*. Likewise in Mhv. 5. 139 "His sent after being perfumed, used to be hung up". My translation of that passage was wrong.

<sup>3</sup> P. *vidhakramidevam*. By the constantly repeated cry of *vidhū* the people are accustomed to give expression to their joy and enthusiasm during festive processions. *Kārcita makkari devā*, lit.: "raise the heavens talkative".

<sup>4</sup> P. *parasāya vidyā* . . . *subhāpī*.

225 rounded by many dignitaries, who rode their steeds<sup>1</sup>, he  
 226 went forth with great pomp<sup>2</sup> from the splendid town, betook  
 himself to the sacred Tooth Relic and to the glorious Bowl  
 Relic, reverenced them in worthy fashion with hands folded  
 227 on the brow, and while offering to them with his own hands  
 sweet-smelling flowers he went on his way with both relics<sup>3</sup>.

228 Now at an unusual time a great cloud gathered spreading  
 herself forth<sup>4</sup>. With her hollow rumbling she increased the  
 roll of the drums and with the bright banquet of the rainbow  
 229 she adorned the space of the heavens. She made lustrous  
 lightning quiver on all sides, an instructress for the dance  
 230 begun by the peacocks. Together with the dust raised by  
 231 the hoof-beat of the horses she made the wreath of the sun's  
 rays disappear and veiled the whole firmament in thick darkness.  
 232 When the dignitaries saw all this they thought again and  
 again: she will pour forth violent rain to disturb the high  
 233 festival, and their hearts filled with sore trouble, they betook  
 themselves to the all-wise Ruler and considered what was to  
 234 be done. But the Great King who knew the excess of his  
 own power and the unimaginable majesty of the great Sage,  
 235 spake (thus): "Be ye not troubled; here a marvellous high  
 festival is being celebrated that captivates the hearts of men  
 236 and gods, and I have set forth with unapproachable courage,  
 rich in merit, rich in wisdom, rich in glory, rich in fame.  
 237 What god, what Mara and Brahma would be able to hinder  
 238 the magnificent festival taken in hand by me? Harbour therefore  
 no fear when ye convey the two reliques, but set forth on

<sup>1</sup> P. *ekahinmällor*. The word *ekahin* means it is true, not merely riding animals but vehicles of every kind, also chariots.

<sup>2</sup> P. *dharmavacana mahāvīra* seems to be a transposition of *mahāvīra dharmavacana*. D. I. 42<sup>47</sup>, M. II. 118<sup>51</sup> we have *mahāvīra rājdharmavacana*. Buddhaghosa says (Buny. I. 146<sup>11</sup>) *mahāvīra rājdharmavacana*, *mahāvīra ca rājdharmavacana*; *mahāvīra tā pi patti*, *mahāvīra tā utthā*; *Rājatipariṇaya ca*.

<sup>3</sup> Verses 228 to 237 form one sentence. The principal verb is *paripūjati*. The preceding verbs are gerunds or present participles.

<sup>4</sup> Līlā A great unfriendly cloud came up, spreading itself out (v. 231 c d) increasing . . ., decorating . . ., etc. making the whole firmament veiled in a mass of darkness.

your way." With these words the discerning (prince) set forth. Then the great cloud while filling all the ponds and rivers 239 outside the range of the festival with floods of rain, as she 240 approached the great procession, moved along before it and rained just enough to lay the dust of the ground<sup>1</sup>. When all 241 the inhabitants of the town who had gathered together and the virtuous sons of the Sage, many hundreds in number, saw this miracle they cried: "In truth of great majesty is this 242 Ruler of men, the See-subduer; in consequence of his high merit he has appeared in Lankā. Here is merit, here is wisdom, 243 here is pious devotion<sup>2</sup> to the Tathāgata, here is fame and glory and exceeding great sublimity." Proclaiming these and 244 other words of highest wonderment they filled all regions of the heavens with loud songs of praise. While thus the Monarch 245 accomplished such a series of wondrous things as had never been seen or heard of before, he celebrated the high festival 246 in a manner befitting his majesty, and after the wise(prince) had had the two.relics brought into the temple of the Tooth Relic, the hero who was a single light for the whole world, 247 celebrated for seven nights long a festival of lamps.

Thus did the King Parakkamabha before whom monarchs 248 did obeisance, institute in pious fashion for the glorious relics a great festival that like none other called forth joy, rejoicing, wonder and admiration from all people who beheld it.

Here ends the seventy-fourth chapter, called "Account of the Festival of the Tooth Relic", in the Mahārāmsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> *Hutānā parato vṛṣṇy* must be joined "placing itself at the head". The acc. *dhāra-pārāyaṇī* is governed by *pasvānaṃ vijaya* (spes. part. of *neti*) i.e. bringing to rest, stilling.

<sup>2</sup> Notice here the expression *bhakti* = skr. *bhakti* i. e. love, surrender in faith. The *bhaktivārga* as path to salvation comes in Hinduism as third after *karma-vārga*, practice of the ritual, and after *jñānavārga* philosophic knowledge. The use of *bhakti* in this passage shows plainly the influence of Hindu Ideas on Buddhism. What *Vipu* is to Hinduism that Buddha is here — the object of *bhakti* (see H. Jacobi, *Die Entwicklung der Gottheitidee bei den Indianern*, p. 28). The word *bhakti* occurs again in the same sense in 85, 88 and 121 and in 25, 9, 10 in *Sicabhatti* which is contrasted with the Buddhist faith.

## CHAPTER LXXV

## THE CONQUEST OF ROHANA

1 Now all the dignitaries and leaders set forth with great  
 2 forces to occupy the district of Dighavāpimāpādala<sup>1</sup>. After  
 3 fighting a great battle at the place Savannaviyala and utterly  
 4 destroying the stronghold there with its twelve gates, and  
 5 after fighting further at the place Gomayagāma, at Chinggāma  
 6 and at the stronghold Balapāśāya<sup>2</sup>, a severe action and shattering  
 7 of the hostile army, they halted at the stronghold named  
 8 Balapāśāya with army and train. Thereupon the dignitaries  
 9 and leaders set out thence, fought a sharp combat in the  
 10 district of Mahavattuka, and while fighting at various places  
 — at Vadugāmākāpātīpa, at the village called Mulutta, at  
 11 Senagottagāma, at Bolagāma, at the place Vānarugāma and at  
 12 Gallambatthikagāma great battles in terrible succession, they  
 13 marched from all sides against the village of Hīntilāvānagāma<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The narrative starts immediately after 74. 180 and continues the description of the operations set on foot by Manja. Cf. *anubh. manjeśā pāduvāna ca mahābhupurākāśā* (74. 179 c d) with *anubh. manjeśā pāduvāna ca mahābhāsi* (75. 1 a b).

<sup>2</sup> Balapāśāya is already mentioned in 74. 178. It must be assumed either that the place had in the meantime been abandoned by Kittī or that vv. 2, 3 are merely a repetition of 74. 176 ff. Conze's translation identifies Chaggūya with the modern Sakkāna, situated near the east coast of Tīrvelīvīl.

<sup>3</sup> It is, I believe, impossible to determine the places named in vv. 5, 6. But evidently the troops march in broad alignment through the district of Dighavāpī in a concentric direction — hence *swāvātīta* — to Hīntilāvānagāma. This must be looked for according to 74. 162 near Khīnagāma, thus somewhat north of Bhūtala. In this region the troops of Kittī and Bhūta were probably standing. Thus there is evidently a plan for uniting the whole army and striking a decisive blow in the neighbourhood of Gātāsūla and Nāthagāma.

With the hostile army that stood here after it had erected 8 on a space of three gāvutas<sup>1</sup>, a strong fortification with many entrenchments, they fought a great battle, slew numbers of 9 soldiers and took up a position on the spot, spreading fear amongst the foe. But now the rebels all set off for Dīghavāpi-maṇḍala with the intention of (re-)taking the (already) captured province<sup>2</sup>. When the dignitaries in Hintālavaṇagāma 11 received exact tidings of this undertaking they sent off many soldiers. These covered in two nights a tract of ground of 12 twenty gāvutas<sup>3</sup>, fought a great battle, cut down the foe and 13 so terrified them that they gave up trying to renew the contest. Then they returned victorious to their place<sup>4</sup>. Hereupon 14 all the dignitaries near this village having fought with the foe — who after throwing up an entrenchment at the place 15 named Ādipāḍapunnāgakhandā were standing in the district of Guttasālū — a great battle and after likewise fighting at Cerambagāma, further at the village of Mūlānagāma and at 16 Kuddālathapuṇḍala a severe action, set forth from the place called 17 Hintālagāma. They fought an action at Kittirājāvālukagāma, further a terrible battle at the place called Ulādū, at the 18 village named Valuka and after fighting an action at Huyala-gāma, they halted, slaying many enemies<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Over six miles. See note on 73. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the revolt breaks out again in the rear and the flank of the army. The pacification of the Dīghavāpi districts had not been successful.

<sup>3</sup> More than 40 miles.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. to the headquarters at Hintālīgāma.

<sup>5</sup> One must not be misled by the accounts of the success of single actions. It is clearly the case here of guerilla warfare. In open fight the rebels offer little resistance. But when the revolt seems to have been suppressed at one place, it at once breaks out anew in another. The accounts of "great battles" (mahāgūḍhā) and the "bitter or severe actions" (vimala rāga) in which the hostile army is shattered and countless soldiers slain, are too much of a formula to lay claim in all their details to historical credence. Every encounter whether important or unimportant, is described very nearly in the same way. The capture of the rebels was certainly an important moral success. But the main object of the whole enterprise, as it is alleged in 74. 40 ff. was not

19 Now to make the town Mahānāgahula which had been inhabited by former kings, a royal capital<sup>1</sup> by the Great King  
 20 were sent forth the Dāmijādhikārin Rakkha and Rakkha the Chief of the chamberlains, and they having equipped a great  
 21 army, set forth full of lust for battle. The Chief of the chamberlains Rakkha hereupon sent off the Kesadhātu by name  
 22 Devarāja, who dwelt in Pātīcayojana, with a great army, and after destroying numbers of foes there, he being experienced  
 23 in the art of war, smote the enemy who after throwing up many entrenchments at the village of Oimhatittha, in order  
 24 to make it the royal capital, had taken up their stand there, so utterly that nought but the tidings of them remained.  
 25 Then to allow the exhausted army to recover from the combats,  
 26 the hero tarried a few days on the spot<sup>2</sup>.

25 Thereupon the enemy gathered together and driven by their heavy grief, they took grave counsel (together) as follows:  
 26 "The power of the Ruler of men Parakkama, which is like  
 27 unbroken. Cf. below v. 149 ff. Parakkama's troops were unable to pass  
 28 the Battala line. The King realises that and develops an entirely new  
 29 plan of campaign, an attack from the north-west, with Dakkhinadesa  
 30 as base.

<sup>1</sup> A curious expression meaning about the same as "to bring into his power". For the idea must be that Parakkama now risks a direct advance against the capital of Rohana. But perhaps we have to do with an old corruption of the text? Note that the pada *tāpa kāturu nāgathāni* is immediately repeated in 22 c.

<sup>2</sup> The military expeditions of the two Rakkhas dealt with in detail by Gommers in his Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century. II. are quite intelligible as regards their plan and course. That of the Kullukinīyakaṇa Rakkha is first spoken of. His task was to penetrate from Dakkhinadesa along the south-west and the south-east as far as Mahānāgahula situated at the mouth of the Valaveganga (cf. note to 68. 40). Before he begins the advance he secures his left flank by the expedition which starts from Pātīcayojana, now Paedon-Korale, east of Kalutara (cf. note to 67. 71). The hostilities then begin at Oimhatittha, now Gintatu, a few miles west of Galle. Rakkha had apparently penetrated as far as this place from the frontier of Dakkhinadesa as which we may regard the Kuluganga, without encountering resistance. The rebels who were about to fortify Giushatittha as a residence for Sugata were evidently completely surprised.

to the fire at the destruction of the world, is hard to subdue even by the kings in the whole of Jambudipa. Even the Lord 27 of men Gajabahu and the Ruler Mañabharapa, these two lion-like kings, skilled in war, who prepared a great army and 28 spent much money, though they fought day and night in divers ways, when they heard the sound of his drum of triumph 29 were scattered afar. They became as glowworms at the rising of the sun, and since tortured by fear, they were not even 30 able to stay in their own country, they seeing no other way of escape, sought refuge with (the god of the dead) King Yama. Save the wilderness, there is for us no other protection. In 31 every way our land is furnished with mountain wildernesses and the like. Therefore let us at all inaccessible places throw 32 up many entrenchments, make all the well-known highways impassable, lay down many robbers' paths, and when then our 33 land has been made impassable let us gather ourselves together and open battle." Herewith the rebels being all of one 34 accord, marched to the mouth of the Galu river<sup>1</sup> full of the lust of battle. When the Chief of the chamberlains 35 heard thereof, he marched thither, fought a great battle with them and put them to flight. The army which had been shattered in the battle joined from all sides with the foe who had his position at Mahasukukagama<sup>2</sup>. The Chief of the 37 chamberlains Rukkha gave his army time to breathe; then he marched farther in order to fight the foe at Mahasukukagama. He shattered all the enemy and made the battlefield (bloody) 38 as the world of the Nagas<sup>3</sup> when afflicted by the Garudas<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> W. is probably right in identifying the Galanadi with the Ginganga at whose mouth at Gintota the troops of Rakkha had according to n. 21 halted. Galle can scarcely have anything to do with the name of the town of Galle. It is a question, whether we should not keep to the MSS. reading of *gālāgāgāmādādārāmā*.

<sup>2</sup> Now Velligama half-way between Galle and Dandru. It appears that the main body of the hostile army had its position at this place. When its vanguard had been beaten by Rukkha near the mouth of the Galu river the whole army concentrated at Velligama.

<sup>3</sup> P. *garuda* is the skin *garuda*. This in the singular is in the first place the name of a mythical griffin-like bird which is regarded as Vigan's

39 He drove them thence as a panther many gazelles and the  
 40 victory gaited, halted there himself with large forces. Then  
 the Chief of the chamberlains who was himself versed in the  
 consideration of advantage and disadvantage, while he sojourned  
 41 in Vālukagāma, reflected thus: "These foes perish of a truth  
 42 in great numbers, like moths who know not the danger of  
 the fire and are burnt therein. But when they have perished  
 43 the land will become like to a wilderness. And they know  
 44 not the great-heartedness of our King. From now onwards  
 we must grant the foes who surrender, freedom from punish-  
 45 ment and give them protection". Hereupon he sent to some  
 46 of the inhabitants of the province the message: "All those who  
 47 would preserve their lives, let them come to me." Now when  
 the merchants who dwelt in the port of Vālukagāma<sup>1</sup> to whom  
 48 their life and their money were dear, heard that, they came  
 in great numbers and (with them) other of the inhabitants  
 from all sides to the Chief of the chamberlains Rakkha and  
 49 presented themselves to him, tortured with fear. Hereupon  
 he sent his soldiers forth and made them several times fight  
 an action with the foe at different places such as Devanagara  
 50 and at Kammāragāma, at Mahāpānūlagāma and at the village  
 of Mānakapitthi, at the ford called Nilavīla and at the village  
 named Kadaltappa<sup>2</sup>. He remained victor at all these places  
 and received graciously all who came to him. Now all the

steed. At the Pūli stage the word in the plural serves as designation of a whole group of such birds. They are the deadly enemies of the serpent spirits called Nāgas. See note to 41.80.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to learn that Veligama was at that time (12th c.)  
 a not unimportant trading-centre, thanks probably to the spacious and  
 sheltered bay on which it lies.

<sup>2</sup> The progress of the Ratnacukkhyaka along the coast is easy to follow.  
 Devanagara is the modern Devurdam (Dondrai) at the southern point  
 of the island. Kammāragāma the village Kamburugāma, halfway  
 between Veligama and Matara which last we recognise in Nilavīltittha, since it lies near the mouth of the Nilvalaganga. The name Matara means "great ford". The remaining names can no longer  
 be identified. What is striking is the sequence of the narrative, since  
 Devanagara could only be occupied after the capture of Kammāragāma  
 and Nilavīltittha.

rebels made the resolve: "We shall not permit the all too mighty army of the foe after crossing the river at the place Mahūkhetta, to fight (with us)". They set forth and themselves full of fury, reached the bank of the river. When the Chief of the chamberlains heard of this event he sent forth his army to march thither to fight with the foe. Thereupon the best soldiers of the two parties fought a severe action in the middle of the river. Now raged between the two armies a terrible battle like to that of the gods with the Dānavas<sup>1</sup> who rose from the ocean. While now the great warriors stood in battle with the hostile army, they reflected thus: "An indecisive battle with these people is the same as a defeat. If not to speak of our Lord, the Chief of the chamberlains hears such tidings, that means a great humiliation. Let us therefore break in pieces the foe like small sugar canes, fling them into the water of the river and make them food for the fish and the turtle, otherwise it is we who shall still their hunger." They fought an exceeding terrible battle like the monkeys who leapt over the ocean<sup>2</sup> in the combat between Rāma and Rāvāna. They caused the swift river to flow with flesh and blood and set forth with strong forces to take Dīghāli<sup>3</sup>. The warriors marched thither and rooted out the host of their foes as elephants a banana grove into which they have broken.

<sup>1</sup> The Dānavas are demon-like creatures, asuras, enemies of the Devas. This passage refers to the fight described in the Mahābhārata I. 5. 19, in which the gods after getting hold of the amṛta conquer the demons who then withdraw below the ground and into the sea. Cf. Horace, *Epic Mythology*, p. 48; H. Jacobi, *Mahābhārata*, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Refers to the battle described in the Rāmāyaṇa VI. 24.

<sup>3</sup> It is not easy to establish the locality of these battles. It is clear that Mahūkhetta (v. 50) and Dīghāli must be situated close together. Cūṇārava looks for them (cf. note to 72. 63) on the Nilvaluganga north of Matara. But since Bakkha has already taken Devanagara, he must stand on the left bank of this river. We must thus assume that the rebels were trying to turn Bakkha's left flank and that he was therefore forced to give up the advance eastwards and to make a change of front northwards. The identification of Dīghāli<sup>4</sup> with Dikvella is difficult to sustain, since the river is absent upon and at which the fights described must have taken place.

62 There shattered, the enemy gathered together again at the place called Suvaappamalaya<sup>1</sup> and began the combat anew.  
 63 Then the Chief of the chamberlains also sent thither numbers of soldiers. There hailed down an uninterrupted rain of arrows  
 64 and after ascertaining through spies a passage leading through the forest, they penetrated the path pointed out by them,  
 65 slew many soldiers who had sought shelter in the various entrenchments and cleansed Suvaappamalaya also from the briers  
 66 (of the rebels). Hereupon the Chief of the chamberlains who was himself on the way to Mālāvaratthali, sent to the soldiers  
 67 who had marched to Suvaappamalaya the (following) message: "I am on the march to the village of Mālāvaratthali; set ye  
 68 forth also on the way thither." When the people heard that, they did so, and he took them all with him and betook himself to Mālāvaratthali<sup>2</sup>.

69 The war-skilled Dāmijāthikārin Rakkha by name, betook  
 70 himself at the head of a strong force to Doyivagga<sup>3</sup>. When

<sup>1</sup> Cūmacūrta says: "Suvaappamalaya is Rāmālākāla situated northwest of Kirūga, or the range which includes this hill and divides West Girava Patti from Matura district". Kirūga lies NNE from Matura about 20 miles distant.

<sup>2</sup> It is clear from the passage that the march to Suvaappamalaya was only the lateral expedition of a division detached from the main army. I do not believe therefore that Mālāvaratthali should be looked for as in the line of march after Suvaappamalaya. It lay rather on that followed by the Kaṭṭenkimāyaka in his advance. As this was directed towards Mahānāgābula, thus in the direction of the lower course of the Valuvapanga (see note to 58.30). I should look for Mālāvaratthali further south, somewhere between Viraketiya and Tungalla.

<sup>3</sup> We may assume that the narrative here goes back somewhat in time and that the advance of the second Rakkha in Doyivagga took place simultaneously with that of the first Rakkha in Gimbulidhā or very soon after. Parakkamabāhu's plan of campaign was evidently to advance from two sides against Mahānāgābula, the capital of Rohuna, from the west and the north-west. Doyivagga is the depression at Pelmatellu-Openake, about twelve miles east of Ratnapura. The name is preserved in that of the small river Doyavaka which flows through the depression. As there is considerable rice cultivation in this region it is particularly suited for the gathering of an army.

the numerous rebels heard tidings thereof, they gave true tidings of the situation to the Lankāpura Rakkha who was 71 in the town called Mahānāgahula and sent an urgent message to come hither immediately. They thought: the road leading 72 from Dogivegga to Navayojana is very difficult, therefore let us hinder the (direct) passage into our province from there 73 at the difficult places<sup>1</sup>, and with great fury they set about beginning hostilities. The war-skilled Damiṣādhikāri Rakkha 74 wished now before the beginning of the war on the part of the enemy, to strike a decisive blow<sup>2</sup> and in his lust for 75 fighting, sent off many soldiers and the Kesadhiṭa Loka and the Saṅkhanāyaka Nāṭha by name and other officers. These 76 fought a great battle and won a great victory. The shattered 77 foe flung into confusion by great terrors, gathered again at the place Guratalībhukulāñcha. Now the Damiṣādhikāri Rakkha 78 again sent forth his great army to take away this place also<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The passage offers difficulties. What is now called Navabhar Korale (= Navayojana; cf. note to 72. 60) is mainly the region of Palnadulli. Formerly however, Navayojana, as Copeaux points out, seems to have been of greater extent. I am inclined to think that it embraced in medieval-times the whole region east and south-east of Paṭṭan Korale, i.e. Kokul Korale, Hinidura Patti, Moravuk Korale. It was in this territory that the combats described in 72. 60-64 took place. Kūlāgiribhāṇḍa also mentioned there is probably only a part of Navayojana. The purport of our passage seems to me to be this: the rebels have no fear of being threatened from the west, from Navayojana, as in that case Rakthu would first have to cross the Rakthavī mountains. He will, they thought, avoid this difficult line of march, but is more likely to advance along the direct road (raṣṭrapāṭham). This would be more or less the road leading now from Madampē south-eastward to Ambalantota at the mouth of the Valuveganga. It was here at the places fit for resistance that the rebels believed the defence should be organised. We shall see in the sequel that Rakthu later on nevertheless risked the march over the mountains.

<sup>2</sup> P. māṭṭhābhūrīga, see note to 63. 30.

<sup>3</sup> The name Guratalībhukulāñcha suggests the Atakanā Korale. With this is designated the name of the district in which Madampē lies. It is quite intelligible that Rakthu wishes to gain a footing here, in order to secure for himself access to the road leading to Mahānāgahula. The Col. Ed. reads Guratalībhukulāñcha as against the MSS. It is a risky thing however, to change names just in order to get a particular meaning.

79 The brave warriors arose, broke through many entrenchments, even broke through the main fortifications which were provided with numerous gates and reached the place which the foe was occupying. They took whom they could alive, sent many 80 other foes straight into the jaws of death, put to flight the others who found no further support, and cleansed this place 81 also from the briers (of the foe). Then they returned (to Rakkha), and he showed them befitting favours.

83 Now in order to protect the enemy whom the king's majesty had turned to ashes, by the application of kindness, 84 even as a cloud (shelters) the forest set on fire by the glow of the summer sun, the prudent Dāniñdhikūri returned to 85 Dovīragga<sup>1</sup>. He appointed to every district that he had captured, the appropriate people, took those who had submitted to his dominion<sup>2</sup> under his dominion and purged this 86 district also<sup>3</sup>. The enemy who after throwing up entrenchments, had taken up their position at Pūgadupākñavāpī<sup>4</sup>, 87 renewed the fight with strong forces. The Dāniñdhikūri, well skilled in the game of war, thereupon sent thither also 88 many soldiers with their officers. The brave warriors went forth and with the rain of arrows which they let rain<sup>5</sup>, with 89 the rattle of the drums and the clash of swords they were like to the flashing march of a storm cloud that appears out

<sup>1</sup> The fact that Rakkha returns to Dovīragga and that now like his uncles, (15, 41 ff.) he seeks to win over the rebels by kindness shows that he has not achieved his object. The breach planned along the main road to Mahānigādula has not succeeded, the advance has been checked at a certain place.

<sup>2</sup> I should expect *raja gāvī* rather than *raja jātī* (cf. 77, 14 and note).

<sup>3</sup> Probably Dovīragga. It is to be assumed that the revolt broke out also in Rakkha's rear.

<sup>4</sup> The place cannot be identified with certainty. If what is meant is the place Dundava lying between Kāharatta and Openaka, the rebels had advanced very near to Rakkha's base. Later on Pūgadupākñavī becomes Rakkha's headquarters (cf. 78, 145).

<sup>5</sup> P. *raśitā* is instr. sg. for *raśitāt*; in the same way *cirātāmī* stands in d for *cirātāmīt*.

of season. Through delight in their own heroism<sup>1</sup> chasing away the weariness of combat, they celebrated the goddess 90 of heroes with their drums of victory. When they thereupon heard that numbers of the foe had built a stronghold at the 91 place called Tambagāma and had taken their stand there, the heroes of tried valour were minded to show that nothing but heroic action pleased them, marched by night thither and invaded 92 (the place), through the sound of their war drums challenging the foe to fight. But when the rebels heard the clatter of the 93 drums they thought a thunderbolt had fallen on their heads and in the greatest panic some fled while others perished. 94 But those (victors) burned down the fortification so that nought but ashes remained and returned with strong forces to Pū- 95 gudanpāvāṣṭa<sup>2</sup>. The Dūniṣadhlkārī Rakkha called back his own troops and sent forth to subdue the enemy who lurked 96 here and there in their district, the four-membered army with its officers. This army cut down at Bodhiāvāṣṭa, at Bhimāla- 97 ranagāma<sup>3</sup> and at Aturundāmalabodhikkhandaḥu numbers of the enemy, fought also a night action and returned thence.

Now the Dūniṣadhlkārī marched at the head of strong 98 forces to the place called Sūkarālibheripāśāṇa<sup>4</sup>. Without 99

<sup>1</sup> P. *ekarasa-mātāda*. Again an allusion to the Indian war doctrine. See note to 72. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Again it is the case of a direct attack on Mahānagakula, but which again did not lead to a break through. Tambagāma is without doubt the village of Thimbagamnu lying about 8 miles ESE. of Mudampē near the road leading to Arubalambuta from which it is separated by the Rakennagangu. The village gives its name to the district Tambagam Patura. (Census Ceylon, 1921, II, p. 490.)

<sup>3</sup> The Col. Ed. reads here *Hantihenagāma*. In the writing this form is hardly distinguishable from the form which I have adopted. In any case this Hantihenagāma could have nothing to do with the place of that name mentioned 74. 162; 75. 7, 11, 17, which was situated at Khīngāma not far from Battūla.

<sup>4</sup> In this name are combined two neighbouring places, Sūkarāli and Bheripāśāṇa. The first is the present Urubokka, the second Berā-panatara. We owe these identifications to Cœsarea. I had them also from the principal of the Dharmasala in Ratnapura, Umāpura Ratnāsara, with whom I discussed the passages of the Mīva in ques-

disregarding in any way the orders of the Ruler of men (Parakkamabahu) be restored, the people who without being 100 hostile, had hidden themselves here and there, to their district as before. And after he had placed the proper officials in the 101 district (thus) won, he set forth at the head of a fearsome, strong army and reached the village named Simatālatthuli<sup>1</sup>. 102 Now the many rebels lurking in various places<sup>2</sup>, summoned 103 hither the army of the inhabitants of the country. Thus in possession of large forces, they then also summoned the Lankāpura Raksha whom they had themselves made commander-in-chief and who at the head of many hundreds of warriors 104 filled the world with the sound of his drums and kettledrums,

tion. The two places are only about two miles distant from one another is the Moravak Koralé south of Pēnadella-Madampē, on the other side of the Rakvana mountain range. I believe Raksha's tactics were somewhat like this: The general has realised that a break through along the highway from Madampē-Tumbagomata-Ambalantota is impossible. He tries it now with an outflanking manoeuvre. With this object he crosses the mountain range to the south of Rakshā in order to attack the enemy from Moravak Koralé (= Navapujana) that is just from the side where the rebels thought themselves safeguarded by the difficulty of the ground (see note to v. 73). The passage was without doubt the Bulukuta pass which forms a natural saddle between the Galkanda and the Kurulakanda. It seems to me not improbable that it was already used in mediæval times. After the crossing of the Bulukuta pass Rakshā had however another parallel chain to traverse. It may be assumed that for this he made use of the deepest depression at Ratkanda over which in the future the road will run which is to meet the Bulukuta road from the south (Deniyaya). It is here that the footpath now runs which joins Rakvana with Deniyaya. Cōonarco's comparison of the Mahādhikshikanda mentioned in v. 97, with Ratkanda has now greater significance. It must be assumed that the expedition described in v. 96-97 had the character of a reconnaissance.

<sup>1</sup> Rāsāsāvati told me of a village Hinalgoda in Moravak Koralé but I cannot find the name either in the list of place names in the Census (vol. II) or on the map.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently as sentries on the look-out. Verses 102 and 103 show what surprise and terror the appearance of Raksha in Moravak Koralé caused among the rebels. First the militia are called out to help and then the commander-in-chief himself who according to v. 70, was at that time in Mahāndigama.

and so advanced to Nadibhaṇḍagām<sup>1</sup>. When the Dāniṣāthi-<sup>105</sup> kārin heard of this undertaking, the prudent one summoned his soldiers and held with them the following speech: "Here <sup>106</sup> shall ye now show your devotion to your Lord (the king) and I shall be witness to your heroism. Think not: this is <sup>107</sup> bad ground, the foe are very dauntless, but believe without doubting in the winning of the victory on the battlefield <sup>108</sup> through the majesty of our Lord and Master. But go first and occupy the right place for the battle." Thereupon these <sup>109</sup> set forth with great determination and occupied full of daring, a position near Mahāsugāma<sup>2</sup> in order to fight. Now the <sup>110</sup> warriors on both sides hung themselves on to the battlefield. With the sparks born of their arms as they beat against each other, staving the whole firmament as it were by day, and <sup>111</sup> with the outpouring of their rain of arrows filling all regions of the heavens, they began the battle, letting their battle-cry sound forth. But the Dāniṣāthikārin, the mighty one, won <sup>112</sup> the head of the Lakṣāpurna Rakhaṇa together with his heroism. Then did the rebels melt away irretrievably as the tide of <sup>113</sup> the waters of the ocean when it has passed its shores<sup>3</sup>. The <sup>114</sup> battlefield there was full of crews, vultures and the like, but the Dāniṣāthikārin who had won the victory by combat held <sup>115</sup> high festival and surrounded by the divisions of his army, he the highly-famed took possession of the town of Mahās-<sup>116</sup> gubula<sup>4</sup>.

Now the Chief of the chamberlains Rakha marched forth <sup>116</sup> from Mālavatthali<sup>5</sup> and betook himself in haste to the town

<sup>1</sup> Gouvernor has recognised this in the present Obada (Singh, 6, 29) is always rendered by *ugā*). As Obada lies below Urabokka, about nine miles distant as the crow flies, on the river of that name in West Girisa, it proves that Rakha in his advance followed the valley of the Urabokka-gāya.

<sup>2</sup> We may assume that the place where the decisive battle took place was not far from Obada.

<sup>3</sup> The rebels dispersed as the surf of the sea disperses on the shore.

<sup>4</sup> In this section the MSS. give the name as *Mahāsugubula*, otherwise *-akula* or *-sula*.

<sup>5</sup> See above p. 68.

117 *Mahānāgabula*. He sought out the *Dhammādhipatī* and the latter discerning and aware of the favorable as of the unfavorable occasion, took counsel with him as follows: "In accordance with the commands of our Lord we have taken the town of *Mahānāgabula*, yet still there are many foes left alive. These robbed of all resources, have withdrawn to *Khṇḍavagga*. But that our soldiers just after they have gained the victory, should march in haste thither pleaseth me not. Where our Lord sets his foot there is our refuge." For that reason they remained on the spot<sup>1</sup>, and while they let the people who without being enemies had hidden themselves here and there, come to them and appointed each to his own district again, they spent the time even there in the town of *Mahānāgabula*. But the many rebels who had betaken themselves to *Khṇḍavagga*, stirred up the inhabitants of the district with the wish to renew the war. They gathered themselves all together at the place called *Khṇḍavagga*. The *Dhammādhipatī* thought that now was the right time for the contest, he advanced from the town of *Mahānāgabula* and began a fearful battle in *Bakagutta*<sup>2</sup>-*Uddharāpi*. The skilful (general) beat them all and then returned. Several of the enemy came hereupon to *Suṇghābhīdelakagama*; but the general *Sukumābhātadeva* took his soldiers and came thirsting for the fight to

<sup>1</sup> The word *ettha* here is curious, especially in conjunction with *patha* etc in 191 c. The final words of Itakaka's speech are also obscure. Possibly we have to do with a corruption of the text. I believe that the words *ettha ettha* *visaya* belonged originally to the oratio recta and that after that something with which the speech ended and which made the foregoing sentence more intelligible has been lost.

<sup>2</sup> Gomarava successfully identifies *Bakagutta* with the present *Koggala* (sab. *Bukk* "crane" is rendered by p. *bukk* which has the same meaning) which is situated only 5 miles North of *Ambarantola*, that is about the same distance NE of the ancient *Mahānāgabula*. This proves the fact that even the capture of the capital does not discourage the rebels. They withdraw just as far as to place the *Vellreganga* between themselves and the enemy and renew hostilities. The actions which follow (vv. 125—140) are only so many attempts on *Mahānāgabula*. Though in single skirmishes Parakkama's troops are victorious, no lasting success is achieved.

Mahāgāma<sup>1</sup>. Now the Dāniyādhikārin himself called his soldiers 127 together and sent them first to Saṅghabhadragāma. The 128 brave heroes betook themselves now to the battlefield and after they had in the fire of the majesty of the illustrious Ruler 129 of men destroyed numbers of the foe, they returned to the 130 town of Mahānāgabulū and held there in fitting manner high festival. But in order also to get the general (Sūkarabhāto) 131 into his power, the Dāniyādhikārin sent off the Laṅkāpura Deva and many other soldiers to fight against him. They 132 betook themselves to the battlefield and with arrows sent un- 133 ceasingly covering the whole heaven and raising their thunder- 134 ing<sup>2</sup> battle-cry they dashed forward to the battlefield, slew the general and shattered the foe. Then these brave warriors 135 too came to Mahāgāma<sup>3</sup> with the sound of their victorious drums making joyful the Dāniyādhikārin. Thereupon an elder 136 brother of the Laṅkāpura Rakkha who had seized the leader- 137 ship of the army, gathered together the many foes whom 138 death had spared and marched for a combat such a rebels fight<sup>4</sup>, to the town of Mahānāgabulū<sup>5</sup>. The Dāniyādhikārin 139 now also sent soldiers thither, they shattered him after slay- 140 ing many of the enemy. The shattered soldiers came to a place called Karuvakangalla. The Dāniyādhikārin Rakkha march- 141 ed from the town Mahānāgabulū, shattered them all and re- 142 turned. Now there came together from all sides to Mahāgāma, the Lokaṅgala Viśvāma by name and many other foes in order 143 to fight with the Mūlapotihakin Māna. But in this fight 144

<sup>1</sup> For Sūkundhūtadeva, see 74, 197ff. Where Saṅghabhadragāma lies is uncertain. Mahāgāma is doubtless Nagāma in the territory of Tisāvābhārūma.

<sup>2</sup> P. *gajāntar*. The comparison which it is impossible for us to render sufficiently exactly, is borrowed from the storm. The mass of the arrows are the cloud darkening the heavens, the battle-cry is the thunder.

<sup>3</sup> One expects here Mahānāgabulū instead of Mahāgāma and on the other hand in v. 135 instead of Mahānāgabulū rather Mahāgāma. Here we not to do here with a mistake of the compiler?

<sup>4</sup> P. *caraguddhaya*, corresponding more or less to our guerilla warfare.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above note to v. 135.

along with the life of the foe the Mūlapotthakin Māra by name speedily won the victory.

141 Now the Dāniñādhiñārī took counsel with the dignitaries: "When we see the destruction of the foe in every single fight 142 and the panic of those fleeing hither and thither, then we think the enemy has lost the courage for renewing the war 143 and yet one does not perceive that they are wholly rooted 144 out. Let us give up the middle of the province and when here and there hidden (rebels) have come into the middle of the province, defeat them!" With that the prudent one, the 145 highly-famed returned to Pūgadāñjāvāla. But the rebels who had not seen through his plan, streamed together from everywhere out of the wilderness into the middle of the province. 146 When the Dāniñādhiñārī received true tidings of these events, he started thence at the head of his men, fought with the 147 numbers of foes at the village of Bodhiūvāka, as well as with the foe everywhere else — at the place called Sūkarālibheri- 148 pāśā and at the stronghold called Madbhithala — great battles 149 and robbed them of their life. Then he penetrated to the middle of the province, sent his army also thither in various directions and rooted them out all and sundry. Hereupon he received a message which came to him from the leaders stand-

<sup>4</sup> In consideration of the sequel I should assume that *cañītāna* is subordinate to the principal verb *āvāśīta* rather than to the part. *āvāśīta*. Rakkha's plan is clear and proves successful. By *rāgñāmājha* is meant the agricultural country on the right bank of the Vaṭṭeganga with Mahānāgapulū. That is it is true, in his power, but the rebels have withdrawn into the inaccessible wilderness surrounding it on all sides. In order now to entice them into the open country where he hopes to defeat them decisively, he ostensibly abandons the captured territory and withdraws to his original base near Doylāgga. For it is here we must look for Pūgadāñjāvāla (cf. above p. 86, 95). This explains also why in the following combats with the rebels we are in fact taken in by Rakkha's manoeuvre, the former names Bodhiūvāla (v. 97) and Sūkarālibheripāśā (v. 98) recur. The Madbhithala named along with them must also be situated near Sūkarāli = Urubokka. All these places are situated on the border of the *rāgñāmājha* into which he finally penetrates to annihilate the enemy.

ing in Huyalagāma and marched to Kumbugāma<sup>1</sup>. Thereupon 150 the general stationed in Huyalagāma by name Mañju, and the two generals called Kitti and Bhūta came surrounded by 151 numbers of heroic officers, to the same place, holding high 152 festival of joy. The general by name Mañju<sup>2</sup>, hereupon, 153 showing honour to the Damiñādhikārin Rakkha, spake the 154 following words: "So long as the many foes which have 155 broken away from your country and are hidden in the various 156 inaccessible places have not got a footing, let us slay them 157 all, while the enemy who has sought refuge in the wilderness 158 of Añjusalassaka and the Queen Sugalī we will take captive<sup>3</sup>. 159 But if the many foes who sojourn in the wilderness are hard 160 for you to overcome, we shall send off soldiers." The Damiñādhikārin 161 agreed with these words. He advanced in haste with 162 his army into the region of the Vananādi<sup>4</sup> and soon came near 163 to the foe who in order to reach the mountain wilderness, 164 had speedily betaken themselves to Mālīvaratthali. When they 165 heard that Rakkha was on the march<sup>5</sup>, they withdrew, tor-

<sup>1</sup> We have seen above in v. 19 that the generals Mañju, Kitti and Bhūta after vain attempts to reach Mālīgāma by Guttisāla, halt at Huyalagāma. Now they try to get into touch with Rakkha. As Huyalagāma cannot have lain far from Rakkha, we may look for Kumbugāma somewhere on the road leading along the southern base of the mountains.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note to 74. 429.

<sup>3</sup> Añjusalassaka (cf. note to 61. 24) is the territory east of the Vala-veganga. Thus Mañju and his generals undertake the operations in eastern Rohana, Rakkha those in the western part of the province.

<sup>4</sup> There is scarcely a doubt that with Vananādi is meant the Vala-veganga. The gen. *paressa* must be = *parissa*. A causative form is impossible since the object belonging to it is wanting. *Salec* *senayī* agrees only with a *paricati*. But perhaps we might render *vananādi-parissa paressa* by: "he advanced along the V." That would make excellent sense. The rebels have evidently occupied Mālīnāgabula after Rakkha's withdrawal. In order now to cut them off from communication with eastern Rohana, Rakkha marches from Kumbugāma down the Vananādi. His plan succeeds. The rebels then westward by way of Mālīvaratthali (see note to v. 66) to the mountains of Dvīda-salassaka, the present district of Giriya (note to 61. 22).

<sup>5</sup> That is in further pursuit of them.

tured by fear, into the great forest and sought refuge on the 150 *Mahāpabbata*. The *Damītēbhikkrin* surrounded the mountain, fought a great battle with them and utterly destroyed them. 160 Then after occupying *Dvādasasahassaka* thus set free from the briars (of the rebels), he considered what should be done with 161 the many foes taken alive and had many hundreds of the 162 enemy impaled in villages and market-towns. Likewise round 163 about the village of *Mahānāgahula* the mighty one had num- 164 bers of the foe impaled, several too hanged on the gallows and burnt to ashes and after taking up his abode in the vil- 165 lage of *Mahānāgahula*, he had under a favorable constellation the drums of government of the illustrious Ruler of men 166 beaten in villages and market-towns. After sending a messenger 167 announcing these events to the Ruler of men and receiving 168 from the Great King a mark of honour, he took up his abode, 169 the discerning, the highly-famed (general), in that same *Dvā- 170 dasahassaka*, pondering over the needful measures.

171 All the chief dignitaries<sup>1</sup> in *Kumbagāma* reflected (thus): 172 "From the time that we set forth to war in *Itihupa* the sol- 173 diers sent forth by us have here and there in great battles 174 covered the earth with the bones of the foe, and even all the brave warriors who dwell in *Jambudīpa* would not be able to 175 withstand these soldiers. Why then should we henceforward 176 think to carry on war with the foe hidden here and there 177 through fear? Queen *Sugrīva* is the cause of these people 178 becoming rebels and has led them into the wilderness<sup>2</sup>. Therefore 179 we must get the Queen alive into our power." With such 180 resolve the discerning (generals) marched from *Kumbagāma* 181 and came to *Haribhikrīn*. After they had there in various 182 places posted good soldiers, known as courageous people, in 183 the necessary numbers, they advanced thence fully armed to 184 *Kaghravāḍa* and when at the place called *Vanagāma*, they

<sup>1</sup> The narrative now deals with the operations in eastern *Brahma* which we may imagine as taking place simultaneously with the events related in vv. 156-166.

<sup>2</sup> Owing to the presence of the obj. *to* the part. pres. *paccaṭī* must be taken in a causative sense (see Chāky, ed. I, Introduction p. XXV).

caught sight of the hostile army with whom was the Queen, 175  
 they fought there a great (and) fearful battle. With the sound  
 of their drums of victory cleaving open, as it were, the earth,  
 they seized the Queen and all her treasures of many a kind<sup>1</sup>. 176  
 Having appointed for the guarding of the treasure the necessary  
 chamberlains, they brought the war game begun there to an 177  
 end and after covering the earth with the hands and feet and  
 heads of the foe and taking those alive to whom this had to 178  
 happen, they made the province of Rohana everywhere free  
 from the briers (of the rebels).

Now by some kind of wile, taking with them a few sol- 179  
 diers, the three Phālakālas who were near the end of their  
 life, and the two Luñkūptras by name Taddhigūma and Pabbata, 180  
 had escaped out of the hand of the foe<sup>2</sup> and were in flight  
 tortured by fear. But the two brothers, the generals<sup>3</sup> and 181  
 the Luñkūpura known by the name of Kadukkuda, as well as  
 many other officers with their soldiers, having reached Ud- 182  
 dhannadvīragāma<sup>4</sup>, shattered them in a great battle and then  
 reached Nigrodhamāragalla<sup>5</sup>. Hereupon the great dignitaries 183  
 with their officers pursued the enemy, sent the head of the  
 Phālakāla to the highest dignitaries<sup>6</sup>, captured the Luñkūpura 184

<sup>1</sup> The place where the capture of Sagāla took place is not yet determined. The name Valagama or Valugama to which the P. Vām-  
 gama would correspond, occurs frequently in Ceylon. A Valagama is  
 situated in the Minnawa Patti. It is however very doubtful if this  
 can be the one meant.

<sup>2</sup> The enemies from whom Phālakāla and the others had escaped  
 were of course the troops of Parakkamabhatta.

<sup>3</sup> For the *de* *matara* *dayāvāthi* and note to 70. 279. They are  
 mentioned here for the last time.

<sup>4</sup> See note to 61. 16. Udhanadvīragāma was the capital of eastern  
 Rohana (Alphenahassaka).

<sup>5</sup> Verses 179—182 form one sentence. The subjects are in v. 181.  
 The principal verb is *upāgāyate* to which the gerunds *saṃvigrahi*,  
*paññāhitrīyate* are subordinate. The necessitatives in v. 180 are governed  
 by *paññāhitrīyate* as objects. As attributes they have the poss. part.  
*paññāgāyate* to which *saṃvigrahi* and *gāhetevā* are again subordinate.

<sup>6</sup> That is Matja together with Bhūta and Kitti who had not per-  
 sonally taken part in the pursuit of the Phālakālas.

Pabbata by name, alive and destroyed the foe so utterly that nought but the tidings of them remained<sup>1</sup>.

185 Thereupon the clever Adhikārin Mañju<sup>2</sup> made the following proposal: "From the time when we began to conquer this 186 Rohaya we have never — apart from<sup>3</sup> the boundless terror-inspiring destruction of our enemies in battle through the 187 majesty of our Lord — treated the foe with sternness so as to teach the people what evil results treason to the king brings 188 about. Therefore those deserving of harshness let us treat harshly and let us be ever kind to those who deserve kindness, 189 and in this way in accord with the commands of our Lord and Master, win them over to ourselves." All agreed with 190 zeal to his proposal. They caused many foes to whom severity was due, to be brought before them, and at villages and market-towns they had numbers of stakes set up on which they impaled many hundreds of the enemy. Many other foes they 192 had hanged on the gallows and burnt and showed forth in every way the majesty — hard to subdue, scarcely to be surpassed, arousing astonishment — of the Ruler of men Parakkamabūhu. Then while they showed due grace to those 193 who were accessible to kindness and were worthy of being treated with kindness, they brought peace to the province, as clouds in the rainy season to a forest burnt by fire.

194 When the Ruler of men Parakkama heard tidings of these events he sent an exceeding gracious message of the following 195 content: "In the first place send hither all the dignitaries 196 taken alive and the Queen Sugata. The burden of the whole administration there is to be given over to the Adhikārin Bhūta. Then along with the whole of the four-membered army 197 sent forth from here, preceded by the numerous bhikkhu community dwelling there, after leaving the necessary garrisons 198 in the various districts, under a constellation regarded as fa-

<sup>1</sup> I prefer to join the two pādas *karōga* as far as separate with v. 181 instead of with v. 185. *Sabōga* is to be taken in an adverbial sense as emphasising *subhāra*.

<sup>2</sup> See note to 74. 129.

<sup>3</sup> I take the gen. *hitra* in this sense in this passage.

vorale, the whole of the dignitaries shall assemble and present themselves before me."

The dignitaries all carried out his orders without omitting anything. They marched from Rohaya and reached at the head of their large army, Pulaththiengara. Accompanied by the dwellers in Pulaththiengara, who played music, shouted with joy, clapped their hands in applause, waved cloths a thousandfold again and again and let their cries of victory resound — they drew near to the superb royal palace and cleansed their heads with the blossom dust of the foot-lotus of the illustrious King of kings enthroned (there) in splendour.

Thus had this Ruler of men, pursuing the path of political wisdom and of virtue, with exceeding terrible majesty<sup>1</sup>, more powerful than a forest conflagration, of keen understanding, together with his heroes made Rohaya free from the briers of the foe.

Here ends the seventy-fifth chapter, called 'The Conquest of Rohaya', in the Mahāsaṅga, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The word that I here translate by "majesty" is the P. *tejo*. As this has the original meaning of "glow", the comparison with the forest conflagration has also a linguistic connection. The compound must be separated thus: *dharmādhanu-aggratara-ribhūma-tejo*.

## Chapter LXXVI

## ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF RĀJINĀ

1 While now the Monarch gifted with insight, day and night strove unweariedly for the furtherance of the laity and of the 2 Order, there banded together in the eighth year of the reign of the illustrious Ruler of men all the inhabitants of the province of Rohaga and stirred up by an all too foolhardy villain<sup>1</sup>, they revolted anew, to cruel destruction foredoomed. 4 When King Parakkamabahu heard of these events he sent 5 once more a great army with dignitaries thither; and as he fought at all the villages and market-towns named aforescore 6 ever renewed battles and made the enemy as fuel for the fire of his own majesty, he shortly freed the whole province of Rohaga from the briers (of the rebels).

7 In the sixteenth year of this King of kings, in the province immediately bordering on Mabititha<sup>2</sup> several people dwelling in that province, who were near the end of their life<sup>3</sup>, stirred up a revolt and began the war which seemed to 9 them the better (lot)<sup>4</sup>. Thither also the (prince) gifted with discernment, sent a four-membered army and destroyed the foe so that they became as dust.

10 Between the countries of Lankā and Rāmnā<sup>5</sup> there had never been a dissension since they were inhabited by people

<sup>1</sup> I incline to take *kenapi pāpakaumā* as referring to a person, *pāpakaumā* thus to be taken like the skt. *pāpakaumā* (cf. B.R. n. v. in a Bahavishi compound).

<sup>2</sup> See note to 48. 81.

<sup>3</sup> The fate to which they are doomed tempts them to the foolish revolt.

<sup>4</sup> Better (over) than subjection to Parakkamabahu's dominion.

<sup>5</sup> That is Pega in Lower Burma.

who held the true faith. 'The rulers of the island of Lankā 11 and the monarchs of Rāmaṇīa were both in like manner true disciples of the Sugata'. Hence all former monarchs in both 12 countries in deeply-rooted trust, filled with friendly feeling<sup>2</sup> were wont to send each other many costly gifts and in this 13 way for a long time to maintain intercourse without dissension. Also with King Parikkamabāhu the Monarch of Rāmaṇīa 14 kept up friendly relations even as former rulers who had for a long time held firmly to him. But once upon a time the 15 deluded one hearkened to the words of slanderers, of certain messengers who came back from our land, and deprived the 16 envoys of the Sovereign of Lankā who came into his own country, of the maintenance formerly granted. Furthermore 17 he issued the order that elephants which had (hitherto) been sold by many (traders) to foreign countries<sup>3</sup> were no longer to be sold. Further with evil intent he made the restriction 18 that elephants which had formerly been sold there for a hundred or a thousand silver mikkhlas<sup>4</sup> must (henceforth) be 19 sold for two or three thousand<sup>5</sup>. He also did away with the 20 age-old custom of presenting an elephant to every vessel in 21 which gifts<sup>6</sup> were conveyed. When he caught sight of a letter

<sup>1</sup> P. *parivasaṇagata*. Cf. skr. *sugata* from *su-gata*, a frequent name of the Buddha which designates him as the guide on the path of salvation. R. O. Fausse in his translation of the *Dīghanikāya* renders *sugata* by "he who completes the path".

<sup>2</sup> *Jhātakavipuṇḍarīkāshubha* and *vakī* are attributes of *Māyāpāla*, and the Insta, *citron bird* (this last for *Āśvāla*) belongs to *subhī*.

<sup>3</sup> We see then that Burm. in the Middle Ages traded in elephants with foreign countries.

<sup>4</sup> An unknown coin. The word is without doubt connected with the P. *mikkha* or *vekkha* — skr. *vigha* which likewise denotes a weight and a coin.

<sup>5</sup> VV. 18, 19 seem to be in contradiction to v. 17. I think however that in v. 17 the emphasis is to be placed on *nebhathā nekhi*. It is the free trade in elephants that according to v. 17 the king makes an end of, putting in its place a royal monopoly. This is immediately followed by an enormous rise in prices.

<sup>6</sup> Evidently from foreign sovereigns, in the first place the king of Lankā with whom according to v. 13 such exchange of gifts had fre-

written on gold, addressed to himself, he under the pretext  
 22 that they were envoys sent to Kamboja<sup>1</sup>, or saying something  
 of that kind, had the envoys of the Sovereign of Lankâ after  
 taking from them all their goods and chattels, thrown into a  
 23 fortress in the Malaya country<sup>2</sup>. And although he learned  
 exactly how his own envoy Tapassî by name, had had every  
 24 distinction conferred on him by the Ruler of Lankâ, he ne-  
 vertheless bereft of all political wisdom, took everything away  
 from the envoys of the Monarch of Lankâ: their money, their  
 25 elephants and their vessels, had blocks of wood fastened to  
 their feet to their greatest torture, and employed them in the  
 26 work of sprinkling water in the prisons. When once upon a  
 time a prince of Jambudipa Kassapa by name, sent costly gifts  
 27 along with a letter on gold, he forbade his people to land and  
 in an insulting manner made them take the letter back to their  
 28 town. One day he had the Sihala envoys summoned to him  
 and declared to them: "Henceforth no vessel from the Sihala  
 29 country shall be sent to my kingdom. Give us now in writ-  
 ing the declaration that if (messengers) from there are again  
 sent to us, in case we should slay the envoys who have come  
 30 here, no blame of any kind will attach to us<sup>3</sup>. If ye give  
 not the declaration ye shall not have permission to return  
 31 home." After he had made them sign this, so that in the  
 ' event of a transgression they should not return again to their  
 32 country<sup>4</sup>, he took the paper from their hand. The teacher

quietly taken place. The King of Râmasîha does not put an end to  
 the intercourse but alters it in a way which shows unfriendliness.

<sup>1</sup> Name of Western Shan.

<sup>2</sup> Malaya denotes as in Ceylon and in Southern India (see 76, 195) the mountainous regions of the country.

<sup>3</sup> In the original direct discourse: "if . . . are sent here . . . in case  
 ye slay . . . no blame will attach to you".

<sup>4</sup> The passage is doubtful. I believe that *or-paggâ-omâgâmîya* is  
 meant to express the intended result. The prince wishes by means of  
 the signature to have the possibility of ridding himself of all undesirable  
 people from Lankâ. W's translation fails because it assumes *dyâvâ*  
 instead of *omâgâmîya*.

Vāgissara and the scholar Dhammakkitti<sup>1</sup> he sent off in a leaky vessel into the open sea. Once upon a time he took from 33 the hands of the messengers the gifts and goods which the Ruler of Lañkā had sent in order to buy elephants, with the 34 promise that he would give them fourteen elephants and silver money<sup>2</sup>, but he told merely lies and gave them nothing. Further they seized by force a princess whom the Ruler of 35 Lañkā had sent to Kamboja land.

When King Parakkamabāhu heard of these many insults 36 committed by that (prince), he thought with the greatest indignation: "Where in the whole of Jambudipa is there a king 37 who would be capable of treating my envoys in such a manner?" He summoned his ministers and spake: "Either the capture 38 or the slaying of the king of Arimaddana<sup>3</sup> must be effected." Hereupon there spake a distinguished official of the public 39 accounts, the Dāmijādhikarīn by name Ādica, with clasped hands — he wished himself to undertake the enterprise — to 40 the King thus: "It is not necessary to entrust<sup>4</sup> the chief dignitaries with this task. If I do not stray a single step from 41 the path of thy order it will be for me, if I undertake the task — even should I be quite alone — in very truth not diffi- 42 cult to carry out in successful fashion the commands of my lord whose commands are hardly to be transgressed." When the 43 King heard that he was content. He placed under him the 44 troop leaders who were to be sent and commanded him to depart speedily. Then the highly-famed one gave the order 45 without delay to make ready ships of various kinds, many hundreds in number. Now all the country round about the 46

<sup>1</sup> These were evidently the envoys from which the written declara-  
tion had been wrong. They reached home in spite of the leaky ship, otherwise their death would without doubt have been mentioned. They escaped it us by a miracle.

<sup>2</sup> In the original again the or, proba: "We shall give you &c." The goods are therefore paid partly in cash partly with elephants.

<sup>3</sup> For this capital of Burmu see M. Bote, *Sūsannavāya*, Dissertation, p. 20 and *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> P. *yañcetvā* stands for *yañcetvā* *anum.*

coast was one great workshop fully occupied with the building of the ships taken in hand. When within five months he had had all the ships well built, he assembled them in haste at the port of Pallavanyaika. Then endowed with vast royal power<sup>1</sup>, he had provisions supplied<sup>2</sup> for a whole year such as rice and the like and abundant weapons of war, such as armour and the like; further gokappaka arrows<sup>3</sup> of iron with sharp points, many hundred thousand in number for defence against elephants, also different kinds of medicines, preserved in cow horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned arrows, as well as all kinds of remedies for curing the poison of infected water in the many swampy stretches of country; also iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads which are difficult to move when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has broken, lastly also skilful physicians and serving women — everything in complete fashion<sup>4</sup>. After he versed as none other in the right measures, had made a strong force — numbering many hundreds of thousands — embark, the Ruler sent all the ships off on one day loaded with all kinds of arms and fitted with capable soldiers. Now when this assemblage of ships all at the same time<sup>5</sup> sailed forth in the midst of the ocean it looked like a swimming island. Subdued by adverse winds some of these ships went down, some drifted on to foreign shores. Numbers of trusty warriors who had embarked in one of the vessels landed on the Crows' island<sup>6</sup>. They fought a battle there, captured several of the inhabitants

<sup>1</sup> P. *maharajjiddhikayyata* in v. 52 d.

<sup>2</sup> P. *paripadesi* in v. 52 c.

<sup>3</sup> *Gokarṇa* in Ske. also means a particular type of arrow. The elephants (*hārāga*) against which they are to serve as defence (*parayō*) are of course the war elephants of the enemy. The MSS. are more favourable to the form of the word *gokarṇaka* which might easily be a synonym for *gokappaka*.

<sup>4</sup> *Anūpaya* is associated as adverb with *paripadesi* and refers to everything that has gone before.

<sup>5</sup> So I understand the P. *manay*.

<sup>6</sup> P. *Kakudipa*. Perhaps the name of one of the Andaman Islands?

of the island alive, brought them then to the King of Lankā and presented them to him. Warriors of great fighting strength 59 who sailed on five vessels landed on the territory of Rāmarāja in the port called Kusumī<sup>1</sup>. These doughty soldiers with the 60 Nagaragiri Kitti at the head, equipped with armour and weapons, slew from their landing-place the troops belonging to the Ra- 61 marāja country, many thousands of them in terrible combat and while they, like to rutting elephants, hewed down around many 62 coco palms and other trees and set fire to the villages, they laid waste a great part of the kingdom. But the ship on which the 63 Daṇḍīḍhikūrī Adicca commanded, landed in the territory (of Rāmarāja) at the port of Papphalama, and while at once the 64 people with the Daṇḍīḍhikūrī at the head, fought a grue- 65 some, fearful, foe-destroying battle and captured alive many 66 people living in the country, they plunged the Rāmarāja king- 67 dom into sore confusion. Thereupon the Silas with terrible 68 courage, fearful with their swords, burst into the town of Ukkama and slew the Monarch of the Rāmarājas. When they had 69 subdued the Rāmarājas and brought their country into their power, the great heroes<sup>2</sup> mounted a splendid white elephant. They rode round the town free from all fear, turning the right 70 side towards it and thereupon made known by beat of drum the supremacy of the Sovereign of Lankā<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the Kusumī (कुसुमी) frequently mentioned in the Sāsānavigraha.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Adicca and Kitti are meant.

<sup>3</sup> The Burmese chronicles have nothing to say about such a catastrophe having overtaken their country. The description in the Mahāvansha is without doubt very much exaggerated. The fact of a successful campaign against Rāmarāja is, however, confirmed by the important inscription of Devanagala in the Kegalla district, Galboda Korale, Meda Padiya, whose significance H. C. P. Bell, was the first to recognise (Report on the Kegalla District, ASC 1892, p. 78 ff.). According to this inscription — one of Parikkamalā I. — the war against Aramāya was determined on in the 12th year of the King's reign. The reigning king of Aramāya at that time is called Bhuvanāditta. The inscription also mentions the town of Kusumī (cf. n. 59) and tells finally of the granting of land to Kit-Navaragiri (= Kitti Nagari n. 60) evidently

69 Then overwhelmed by fear the people in the Rāmāṇīya land, seeing no other protection, gathered together and held  
 70 counsel. With the instructions: "Year by year must we from now onwards send elephants to any amount as tribute from  
 71 our property — in order that the Monarch of Laṅkā may not  
 72 lay on us intolerable (burdens), ye must influence him<sup>1</sup> and  
 73 thereby at all times full of pity, have mercy on us all" —  
 they sent in haste their messengers with letters in their hand to the bhikkhu community<sup>2</sup> dwelling in the island of Laṅkā.  
 74 Through the friendly words of the community living in the three fraternities, the Ruler of Laṅkā was moved to kindness,  
 75 and while the Rāmāṇīya sent him yearly numbers of elephants, they made anew with the Laṅkā Ruler who kept his treaties faithfully, a pact of friendship.

76 Now the Pañju king by name Parakkamis, in the town of Madhurī<sup>3</sup>, when his capital was besieged by the war-loving,  
 77 hostile king named Kulasekhara who had come thither with an army, had found in the territory of Jambudipa no king  
 78 with whom he might have taken refuge. He sent messengers to the Monarch of Laṅkā with the message: "O Thou with  
 79 whom I may take refuge, thy two feet shall be for me who

as reward for his services. The Dāniṣādikāra Adicca is not mentioned. He appears to have died soon after the campaign, as he does not occur again in the Culivāpas.

<sup>1</sup> Thus I translate the phrase *anukāraṇīya ead*.

<sup>2</sup> The sense of the passage is on the whole clear. The Rāmāṇīya try through the medium of the Church to obtain favorable terms of peace from Parakkamabahu. The details offer difficulties. Line 71 a b is hopelessly corrupt. Since the MSS. all agree, the emendation must be traced to the archetype. The emendation tried by S. and R. is hardly successful. Three words *akāśikām*, *anukāraṇīya*, . . . *āśiṇī* seem certain. Verses 71 c to 72 d if translated literally would be rendered by: "we all must be taken pity on (bhagatibhi) by you, reverent masters (āśiṇīkā), in that ye so persuade (vadantibhi tasse anukāraṇī) the King that he does not have done (to us) (kāreti) what is heavy to be borne."

<sup>3</sup> For the South Indian people called Pañju and their capital of Madhurī (now Maduru in the south of the province of Madras), see 50.12 and note. V. A. Smith, Early Hist. of India, p. 306.

am a moth in the fire of the majesty of my foe, a cage of diamond". When the sovereign of Lañkā heard their speech, he spake thus: "If the distress of him who has placed himself under my protection be not removed, how would my name of Parakkamabāhu<sup>1</sup> be fitting? He who trusts in me is hard to vanquish by a foe, be he who he may. From what foe among the brutes is the hare in peril who has fled to the moon<sup>2</sup>? General Lañkāpura, slay Kulasekhara, establish the Pāpūju king in his realm and then return." The general by name Lañkāpura, a very courageous man, versed in the means of war, a forest fire for the wide-spreading wilderness of the foe, received with the words "Be it so!" the King's command like a wreath upon his head and accompanied by many war-skilled officers, he marched at the head of an army invincible in battle and came to Mahātittha.

King Kulasekhara had (in the meantime) slain the Pāpūju king with his wife and children and captured the town Madhūrā by name. Lañkāpura received from the Great king who had heard of these events, anew the order to conquer the kingdom and make it over to a scion of the house of Parakkama<sup>3</sup>. He set forth for the port Talañjilla<sup>4</sup> by name on the opposite coast. He embarked his great army on many hundreds of

<sup>1</sup> The name means "one of courage, possessed of courageous arms". Parakkamabāhu's campaign against Southern India is confirmed by Culu inscriptions (near of Arpalakuru near Kāñcī) according to which the result for the Sihala troops was not so brilliant as the Māvās would have us believe. After initial successes they were forced to retire. Cf. for further details V. A. SMITH, Early History of India, p. 840; H. W. COOMARASWAMY, Short History of Ceylon, p. 62, 74. To the name Kulasekhara corresponds Kulottunga in Indian inscriptions (XI. VII, p. 170 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> The Hindu thinks he sees the picture of a hare in the disk of the full moon, just as we speak of a "man in the moon". The moon is therefore called in P. *asvin* — skr. *śaśin*, from *śaśa* = *śaśa* "hare".

<sup>3</sup> Instead of the names Lañkāpura and Parakkama the original has probatums.

<sup>4</sup> The MSS. have all *Tulaydilla* or *Talaydilla*, in v. 92 only the first form. The Col. Ed. reads *Tulabihita* with the variant *Talabihita*, I do not know with what authority.

ships, started off and sailed a day and a night on the back of the ocean. When he caught sight of the coast, since a hostile army was standing there, he made all his troops put on their armour on board. As the ships had to lie in deep water<sup>1</sup> and because with a landing just at this spot, the armour of the whole army would have been wet through, he made the troops get into hundreds of boats of small size<sup>2</sup>. Then when the rain of arrows from the Damilas standing on the coast, came flying, he had shields fashioned of leather set up in front of the people (as protection) against the arrows and so landed in the Papū kingdom at the port called Ta-indilla. After putting to flight the Damilas at the port and capturing the harbour, he took up a position there and fought with vast forces four battles. When the five officers, Vadavalattirukka-nāḍālāvā<sup>3</sup>, Kup Jayamutta-rāyāra, Villava-rāyāra<sup>4</sup>, Añenkaṭṭa-nāḍālāvā and Narasihadeva by name, advanced to fight<sup>5</sup>, he fought also with these, slew many Damilas, took away their horses, put to flight the great army and occupied Rāmissara<sup>6</sup>. He fought with them while he was posted there.

<sup>1</sup> P. agnidevārāpācittānubhāvā. The meaning is this. The coast was so flat that the ships could not lie close to the shore. They had to form (sāp-ā-tāt) at some distance in deep water (ayādhet) and embark the troops in boats (see the following note).

<sup>2</sup> P. ekadūgānāda. Dūgā must be taken here in the sense of a particular measure of volume, otherwise it would be unintelligible. Skr. dravya means "boat" as also a measure of volume.

<sup>3</sup> According to O. Scandapur (private letter 22 XII 23) nāḍālāvā is derived from the popular Dravidian word "land, district" and of "man" (Cāmēra aka "soldier"). A Nāḍālāvā would thus be the leader of the troops of a particular district.

<sup>4</sup> Rāyāra is a title which according to O. Scandapur, corresponds to skr. rājanya. Canarese rāyāra.

<sup>5</sup> Of the five officers four are also mentioned several times later on: (Kup Jayamutta, 76. 177; Villava, 76. 168 ff.; Añenkaṭṭa 76. 93, 191, 239, 247, 300; Narasihadeva, 76. 174). Only the first mentioned does not occur again. It is significant that Añenkaṭṭa occurs as a place name in 76. 285, the Nāḍālāvā probably taking his name from the locality. See also note to c. 180.

<sup>6</sup> Skr. Rāmṛitāṇa, situated on a sandy island which joins the Indian mainland with Adam's Bridge, with a famous temple often described but belonging to a later period (15th to 16th cent.).

five combats and after fighting nine battles<sup>1</sup> he fought<sup>2</sup> in the tenth against the six officers Sīlamegha, Naratīngabrahma-  
māhārāja, Haṭṭikya-rāyara, Añcukotṭha-rāyara, Phaṭṭadhiya-rāyara<sup>3</sup> 98  
by name and him called Pannsiyurāja<sup>4</sup>, as well as the five 100  
officers named above who had advanced with great forces. He  
bore away the victory, seized many horses<sup>5</sup>, slew the Damījas 101  
and penetrated from Kāmissara a distance of four gāvutas<sup>6</sup>  
to Kundukāla which lies between the two seas. The many 102  
Damījas who had fled through fear, took refuge in the forest;  
he captured several of them and had them impaled there.  
Some of these, at the command of the Ruler of Lankā who 103  
thought to have all the cetiyas formerly destroyed by the  
Damījas rebuilt by them, he had brought to Lankā and the 104  
work of restoration begun on the Katanavāluka-cetiya<sup>7</sup>. The 105  
Sovereign of Lankā had the thūpa which had been destroyed  
by the Damījas restored, and in order at the close to celebrate 106  
the festival of the crowning ornament<sup>8</sup>, he betook himself  
with his ministers and the court to Anurādhapura and assembled

<sup>1</sup> That is besides the five combats the four mentioned in v. 93.

<sup>2</sup> The verb governing the accusative in vv. 99–100 is *gṛhīteva* *śāśvate*  
in v. 100c which is treated as in 38. 46, as a transitive verb.

<sup>3</sup> In the Col. Ed. the names *Naratīngabrahma-māhārāja-rāyara* in 98  
and *Pannsiyurāja-rāyara* are changed contrary to all the MSS. into  
*Naratīngabrahma-rāyara-rāyara* and *Phaṭṭadhiya-rāyara-rāyara*. Apparently  
the editors wanted to avoid the wrong close of the name *rāyara*,  
but in v. 95 we have just as wrong a *rāyara* which is not corrected  
in Col. Ed. Mentioned again later are Sīlamegha (th) 76. 238, 299;  
77. 90 and Haṭṭikya 78. 191c. For Añcukotṭha see above.

<sup>4</sup> The organization of the Damīja army evidently differed materially  
from that of the Sīhakas in the greater number of its cavalry. In all  
accounts of victories gained (see already above v. 96) horses are always  
mentioned as the principal booty.

<sup>5</sup> That is about 8 miles. Kundukāla was situated on the tongue of  
land jutting out from the continent to the island of Rāmēvara.

<sup>6</sup> Name of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura corresponding to what  
is now known as the Abhayāvatti. It is used here for the first time.  
The allied designation *Hemārādhikutthīya* occurs already in 51. 82.

<sup>7</sup> P. *thūpāśāmīha*. By *śāmīha* is understood the pointed cone resting  
on the cube-like structure which forms the apex or finial of the thūpa.

107 the great bhikkhu community on the island of Lankā. He provided the community with the four articles of use and when the fourteenth day<sup>1</sup> had arrived he had made known in  
 108 the town by beat of drum: "The town shall be decorated; and provided with perfumes, flowers and other offerings shall the people come to the place of the Mahāthūpa." After he had then on the day of the full moon performed in right  
 109 manner all the old customs, he himself came as the shadows grew longer, from the royal palace<sup>2</sup>. In divine beauty he was adorned with costly ornaments, with crown, necklace<sup>3</sup>, bracelets  
 110 and the like, (all) richly set with jewels. In front of him went the ladies of the court many hundreds in number, with the  
 111 grace of heavenly nymphs, their bodies decorated, and there followed him<sup>4</sup> numbers of distinguished officers with richly  
 112 decorated garments and resplendent in bright clothing. With the mass of the elephants and horses gleaming with their golden harness, doing reverence<sup>5</sup> to the cetiya with a gift of  
 113 lamps distributed over their bodies, and with the horde of the mass of human beings he pressed as it were, the earth together. With umbrellas, whisks and banners he veiled in  
 114 a sense the countenance of the firmament. With the sound of the manifold instruments of music he cleft asunder the mountain ravines, with the splendour of his majesty he comple-  
 115 tely bewitched the eyes of the laity<sup>6</sup> and with the beams of

<sup>1</sup> That is the full-moon day.

<sup>2</sup> This is the final sentence, taken up from v. 106 a b. In 106 d we have the finite verb *uttīhi* of the whole sentence beginning with v. 107 which I have split up into its component parts, translating the participles and gerunds by principal verbs.

<sup>3</sup> P. *māla* means like *skr.* *māla* also necklace, neck-chain.

<sup>4</sup> In v. 110 and 111 *parakkhāto* and *meekro* are in opposition.

<sup>5</sup> W. seems not to have taken account of the feminine form *pājātīhi*. It proves that the part. must be referred to *hathīsasapājāhi*. It is thus the elephants and the horses not "worshippers" who wore the lamps. These were probably fastened to the bodies of the animals (*saabriguḍīpa*) by means of ribbons or by a framework.

<sup>6</sup> Of "tears of joy" there is nothing in the text: *harāmbarū* is a duplication of intensity.

the golden utensils, chests, banners, vessels, fans, jars and the like he steeped the place in radiant glory<sup>1</sup>. Thus on he came 116 and took his place with the splendour of the King of the gods in the court of the cetiya. Many hundreds of bhikkhus who 117 had come hither, surrounded the cetiya, closing it round, as it were, with a railing of coral<sup>2</sup>. The King then had the 118 golden point placed on the thūpa and showed the world therewith the beauty of the Kelāsa mountain with the sun on its summit. On this day too there reigned in the town also dur- 119 ing the night great brightness with the lamp festival of the King and because of the point placed upon the thūpa. When 120 thus the Monarch Parakkamabahu had celebrated the great festival of the sacred thūpa, he betook himself again to Pulathinagara.

But the general (Laikāpura) had a strong camp called 121 Parakkamapura built at Kundukūtu, and as he wished to make it last long, he erected three high walls of stone, two thou- 122 sand, four hundred cubits long<sup>3</sup> and twelve gate towers, and a 123 building with a half square<sup>4</sup> and three trenches in such a way that the waters flowed from ocean to ocean<sup>5</sup>. While he tarried 124 in this stronghold he subdued officers like Kañcakusūjaya<sup>6</sup> by name, Colaganga and others. Since in this way the power 125 of the Sihalas waned from day to day, King Kulasekhara sent again Sundarnapūjaya<sup>7</sup> and Puglurāja by name and 126

<sup>1</sup> P. *piyavāyi* *parasī* "making ruddy, light-coloured".

<sup>2</sup> P. *parikkedikāya*. Here *parikk* has again clearly the meaning of railing. Cf. note to 78, 88. The coral colour is supplied by the reddish yellow colour of the monks' robes.

<sup>3</sup> As *ratna* means the same as *hattha* (see 87, 172) that is roughly about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  fl. then the wall was 3000 fl. in extent.

<sup>4</sup> See note to 78, 28. Here there were evidently no W. supports, barracks for the soldiers.

<sup>5</sup> The fortifications were spread right across the whole of the peninsula and thus safeguarded it and the camp from the mainland. *Tathā* belongs of course to *hārītī* *parikkhatayā* and *gathā* (quadrangular) refers to *tathā*.

<sup>6</sup> We have to read here and in v. 130 *Si Khekañjaya*; it refers each time to Laikāpura. Cf. note to 76, 170.

<sup>7</sup> Is mentioned again 76, 174.

127 many other officers with troops to drive them thence. Lankāpura fought with them three combats, put them to flight and  
 128 took the village called Carukkatta. And he set out from there  
 and fought with these same officers as well as with the Damila  
 129 Åjārundappermāla<sup>1</sup> a great battle, carried away the victory  
 and captured the villages by name Kojurura and Maruthūpa.  
 130 In the district Kānēkudija and in the district named Kojurū  
 131 the general subdued the soldiers called Maruvam<sup>2</sup>. In the  
 district of Vrāgañga the mighty (generally) plundered many vil-  
 lages and market towns such as Kugappanullura and others,  
 132 and after subduing the powerful officer called Mālava-rāyara<sup>3</sup>  
 and thousands of Damilas, he took up his abode there.  
 133 Thereupon he returned and betook himself to Parakkamapura  
 134 to satisfy his troops by the distribution of food and pay<sup>4</sup>. On  
 the march thither he gave battle to Åjavanda who had his  
 position at the village called Vajoli and slew him.

135 Since now the powerful king Kulasekhara — who possessed  
 the courage of a lion, whose great army was war-tried,  
 136 who well understood the expedients of war — although he  
 had sent forth his great dignitaries with big army and train  
 had not been able to win the victory, he himself set forth  
 137 to fight. Mālava-cakkavattin, Mālava-rāyara by name, Va-  
 138 rittilkupūjyāra<sup>5</sup> and Toodjamūrūra by name; Tuvarādhipati-

<sup>1</sup> Is mentioned again 76, 134, 145, 228, 232.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably the caste or rather tribe of the Marūvar living in the district of Madura. (See Imperial Gazetteer of India s. v. Madurā, where with the Vellalar and the Kallar (= Kallars in 76, 246) they are characteristic. They seem to be descended from the aborigines and were known in early times as fearless soldiers.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below in v. 137 *Mālava-cakkavattin* and *Mālava-rāyara*. The last name again in 76, 235, 265, 274, 281; 77, 27. the second 76, 210, 267. C. Mālava is the name of a tribe. See Epigraphia Indica VII, Appendix, no. 10, 64, 409.

<sup>4</sup> A veiled allusion to certain difficulties with which Lankāpura was faced during his advance. Note too that the place Vajoli named in v. 134 is later on again occupied by him (see v. 169) and that only after severe fighting.

<sup>5</sup> For Mālava see note to 76, 132. Purittilkupūjyāra is again mentioned

vejara, Virapperaya-rāyara, Seukunḍiya-rāyara and Nigaladha-rāyara by name, Karummalatta-rāyara and Nakula-rāyara, 139 Puṇḍrapiṭha-vaḍḍalāvāra and Karumba-rāyara by name, Kuṇḍiyūra 140 and Athalayūra-nāḍāvāra<sup>1</sup> by name, Kaṅgavāra, the two Viragūgas, Muva-rāyara, Alattūru-nāḍāvāra, the three Magas- 141 ya-rāyaras, Kalarandiya-nāḍāvāra and Kerūpasihunuttura — these and other officers, as well as those named above he 142 took with him, further the remaining troops in the province 143 of the Paḍu King Parakkama, the whole forces of his mother's 144 brothers in the two Koṅga districts and the whole of his own 145 forces in the kingdom of Tirigaveli<sup>2</sup>. Also Niccavindavāḍavā- 146 rāyara<sup>3</sup>, Uṭṭi-rāyara, Taṅkuttara-rāyara and Tompiya-rāyara 147 by name, Ajuvandapperūmāja, him called Cojakenāra as well 148 as Taṅgipperūmāla and Ajukhiya-rāyara by name, him called 149 Māñūbharaṇaṇamahārāja, Avnudiya-rāyara, Muṇayadha<sup>4</sup>-rāyara 150 by name and the Damija Viṭṭīvaṭṭa: also these officers with vast 151 army and train he took with him and marched near to Pa-

ad in 76. 221. As regards the other names mentioned in 137-141, Topjanūkāvaya occurs again in 76. 316, 77. 1 ff., Vaṇḍibhūpalli again in 76. 316, 77. 47; Virupperaya again in 76. 316, 77. 6 ff., Seukunḍiya 76. 221, 77. 7, 45; Nigaladha again 77. 16 ff.; Karummalatta again 76. 216; Puṇḍrapiṭha again 76. 240, 278 ff., 77. 57, 92; Athalayūra again 76. 260, 77. 27; Kaṅgavāra again 76. 260, 316, 77. 15; Viragūga again 76. 131, 179 ff.; Metta again 76. 216; Ajatiṭṭha again 76. 184, 214 ff., 306; Muṇayadha again 77. 7, 35 (cf. note to 76. 220); Kalavāḍhya again 76. 267, 316, 77. 10 ff.; Kerūpasihunuttura again 77. 7. Nakula, Karumba and Kaṅgavāra do not occur again.

<sup>1</sup> The Col. Ed. has contrary to the MSS. 'Maṭṭayūra'.

<sup>2</sup> Now Tinnevelly, the district filling out the extreme south-east corner of the Indian peninsula. The correct form of the name is Tinnevelī. See Imp. Gazetteer of India s. v.; W.'s note to the passage. The two Koṅga districts are according to 76. 228, Tenkōṇi and Vaijakōṇi.

<sup>3</sup> Of the officers named here Niccavindavāḍavāra occurs again in 77. 76. For Ajuvandapperūmāja see note to 76. 128; a Cojakenāra is mentioned again 76. 163, 181, 188, 77. 77, 86. Taṅgipperūmāla 76. 190; Muṇayadha 77. 40. The other names are only mentioned here.

<sup>4</sup> Again the Col. Ed. changes the name, contrary to the MSS. into Mundiyā.

148 rakkamapura. "Only when I shall have cut off the heads of the Sihulas shall this time my sacrifice to the gods in holy 149 Rāmissara take place!" Letting such lion-like cry sound forth, he occupied a strong encampment at the village of Erukūṭa 150 and Iḍagāḍisara. Now in order to destroy the strong encampment of Parakkamapura, Kulasekhara sent forth a great army 151 from the land side and another embarked in numbers of ships 152 from the ocean. When thus the mighty force coming from different sides began the fight it was as if two seas overflowed their 153 shores. Laṅkāpura made his great army put on their armour, advanced from his strong encampment and began the battle 154 with the others. But the army of the Damiyas suffered fighting in the battle (heavy loss by) sword blows and arrow shots. 155 It weakened, turned tail and withdrew to its own stronghold. In this way it fought in the offensive three and fifty actions. 156 But when King Kulasekhara saw this disaster in every combat, 157 he himself set forth and sent out his troops to fight. Laṅkāpura had all the gates opened and placing his army like a 158 great mountain in front of him, he came forth. He slew in combat numbers of Damiyas<sup>1</sup>, took away their horses, gained 159 the victory and pressed forward in pursuit as far as Kurum- 160 bīyājanukāṭi. While he was beginning here to build a strong 161 encampment<sup>2</sup>, Kulasekhara gathered together his great army 162 which had been shattered in the fight, took also his picked 163 troops<sup>3</sup> whom he cherished as his life, marched hither himself 164 and opened light awaking terror among the foe. With thou- 165 sands of fish, namely the (glittering) swords, with hundreds 166 of waves, namely the horses, with the mass of the waves, 167 namely the infantry, with the lines of surf namely the un- 168 brellas<sup>4</sup>, with the flowing of the streams<sup>5</sup>, namely the arrows,

<sup>1</sup> Of course we must read *Damiyā* 'etc.'

<sup>2</sup> Loc. alia. It must be supplemented by *tena*. "When by him Laṅkāpuru was begun the building of a strong encampment."

<sup>3</sup> P. *śāribhṛīśa anubhāṣīṇī*. By *tena* is meant the duramen (heart-wood) of a tree.

<sup>4</sup> The white umbrellas are the badges of the officers.

<sup>5</sup> P. *śāpayādīpītām*. What is meant are the streams flowing into

with the clamorous din, namely the drums, the whole battlefield was terror-striking like the ocean. When thus the great 162 battle was fought, the Sihalas endowed with great courage, stilled the twitching in their arms<sup>1</sup>. They slew Villava-rāyava 163 by name and Colakonūra and the mighty officer, Yādava<sup>2</sup>-rāyava, many hundreds of soldiers and officers of the king; 164 also they wounded the horse on which King Kulasekhara was riding. Kulasekhara with his army turned to flee in order 165 therewith to give the Sihalas, as it were, occasion for yet more furious sword strokes. When in flight he fled, he not 166 only surrendered his courage but also his throne, his umbrella, his ornaments and all else. Laṅkāpura marched to the fortress 167 called Erukkuṭṭura where his enemy King Kulasekhara had resided, burned it down and then after erecting a new strong- 168 hold, Laṅkāpura<sup>3</sup> tarried there some time. Then he set forth and marched to Vajali<sup>4</sup>. Thence he advanced further and 169 hereupon took Deviyapattana by force. Then he betook him- 170 self to Siriyavula and after completely vanquishing in bitter combat the well-armed Khuddakanacakuppa-rāyava<sup>5</sup> commanding 171 the stronghold named Kojuvukkotṭe, he put to flight in battle numbers of dignitaries of King Kulasekhara, captured also 172 this strong place and burned down seven and twenty large villages in (the district) Dantika. Hereupon he fought with

the ocean. The comparison of the combat to the raging sea is described exactly in accordance with the rules of Indian poetry.

<sup>1</sup> They had abundant opportunity of satisfying their thirst for fighting.

<sup>2</sup> The first two names occur already in 76, 91, 145, but are also mentioned again later on (Villava 76, 178, 185; a Colakonūra 76, 173, 181 and 189, 17, 17 and 80; also a Yādava 76, 179, 177). Cf. note to 76, 180. Yādava is a South Indian clan name. See HL, see, Appendix, nr. 391, 392, 394 etc.

<sup>3</sup> All the MSS. have here *Laṅkāpura* which should be adopted on principle in the text. W. supposes it might be a corruption of *Colāpura*, Not impossible.

<sup>4</sup> See above note to v. 133.

<sup>5</sup> The same as *Colukkunāyaka* "the small Kāśikānāya" in 76, 185 ff. 217 ff. The name is most closely connected with that of the district *Kāśikānāya* 76, 136, this again with the proper name *Kāśikānāyagāra*, 76, 121.

173 the Damila Pugdijyūvudārā<sup>1</sup> dwelling in Kojurukkotṭa who was  
 of terrible courage, with both Colakonārā, with the officer  
 174 Yādhava-rāyara and with Villava-rāyara, with the Damila  
 Kaliṅga-rūyara with Sundarapāṇi-rāyara, with Narasihaderārā  
 175 and with Padiya-rāyara as well as with the (officers) in the  
 village of the brūhāmāgas, shattered them and slew many  
 176 Damilas. He took (as booty) many horses and armed with  
 troop and train, took up a position at the place named  
 177 Kuḍḍayārkoṭṭa. He brought into his power the three Damila  
 officers, Kupḍayāmūlā-rūyara, Kudḍiṇi-rūyara and Yādhava-  
 178 rūyara and took up a position at that place, well understand-  
 ing eight places. Further the great hero brought into his  
 179 power Padiya-rāyara in the fortress of Viikkāmācōppera  
 180 and the three, Padiyāmāḍala-nāḍala-rāyara, Viraguṅga-rūyara and  
 Kaṅgakōḍḍappārāyara, who were in Kāmūnukkotṭa and advanced  
 to Maruthukkotṭa with the object of fighting a decisive battle<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Only occurs here. For Colakonārā see note to 76. 144, for Yādhava note to 76. 163, for Villava 163d; for Sundarapāṇi note to 76. 126. Kaliṅga is mentioned again 76. 234 E, 77. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Verses 170-180 form one sentence. The principal verb is pāyasi (180 c), subordinate to it are the gerunds in 170-172 and the gerunds and pres. part. in 170-6 as well as those in 178 and 180 a. The nominatives in 172 a-174 d, in 177 a-c and in 178 c-179 c are independent of the construction of the sentence and are summed up with the *śe-cchā* 175 a, *śe cōmāra tayo* 177 a d, *icosete tayo* 178 d. Note how in the account of the contests in Southern India the names of the Damila officers repeat themselves. Only once in this passage are Kudḍiṇi, Padiyāmāḍala and Padiyāḍala mentioned, as well as Kaṅgakōḍḍappārāyara, with which Kaṅgakōḍḍukalappu 77. 75 may be compared. Padiya-rāyara is mentioned twice in this passage but not otherwise. Villava here in v. 176 and 177, before in v. 163. In v. 163 a Colakonārā, a Villava and a Yādhava are mentioned as having fallen. Possibly these may often be place names as above in the case of Ahukkotṭa (see v. 235) rather than names of persons. Villava-rāyara meaning the instance, the rāyara of Villava (see note to 77. 9), Kupḍayāmūlā and Narasihaderārā occur already in 76. 91-96, Viraguṅga already in 76. 121, 140 and later repeatedly 76. 181 ff., Sundarapāṇi 76. 126. It is expressly stated that there are two Colakonārās (76. 173). It is the same below with Tomriṇi (181). The same with Ahukkūrūmā-ḍālārā (184, 214) and with Viraguṅga (110). In v. 141 three Maṇuyā-ḍālārās are mentioned.

There he gave the Colakonāra, the other Tondriya, the officer 181 Sattāpāra, the Damiļa Viragañgara, Kettāpāra and others a 182 severe combat. He robbed Tondriya of his life, took his horses 183 away from him, slew many Damīlas and occupied besides the 184 fortress known by the name of Kaigakopūra. Then he set 185 from there, took up a position at the place named Paṇīva, 186 fought there with the two Ajattūru-nūḍīvāras, with Pandriya- 187 rāyara, Villava-rāyara and Collakalīcakunja-rāyara<sup>1</sup> a great 188 battle, shattered them and captured Paṇīvakkotṭa. Then he had 189 stood formerly. Hereupon he marched to Vālakkotṭa<sup>2</sup> to fight 190 there, fought there against Kogūdevamūḍava-rāyara, against the 191 two Viragañgaras and the Damīla Colakonāra a great battle, 192 shattered them all and slew numbers of Damīlas, seized from 193 them many horses and captured with this fortress (Vālakkotṭa) 194 also (the fortress) Neṭṭūru<sup>3</sup>. He himself took up a position 195 there, brought Kuttāgnī(rā)<sup>4</sup>, Viragñga and Taṅgipperūmāla 196 and the Damīlas dependent in him, many hundreds in number, 197 as well as Ilāñkiya and Añcukotṭa-rāyara under his influence, 198 gave them earrings and other ornaments. But on Ilāñkiya- 199 rāyara he conferred the well-known and coveted title of Ilā- 200 jayesibhujaṅga-Silāmegha<sup>5</sup>.

Meanwhile Lañkāpara learned that the very youngest son of 193 the Paṇīva King Purakkannu, Prince Virapatiļu by name, at the 194 murder of his unhappy royal father — who had fallen with wife 195 and child into the power of the enemy — by some wile or other

<sup>1</sup> See above v. 170 and note.

<sup>2</sup> W. translates *parādānita* wrongly by "he proceeded to . . ." Its meaning is far rather "he returned to . . ." Cf. skr. *prati-ā-śat*. Evidently the attack on Paṇīva had not the wished-for success.

<sup>3</sup> The text here is very corrupt, but the name Vālakkotṭa is assured.

<sup>4</sup> W. suggests, though doubtfully, Nellore. That is quite impossible. Nellore lies north of Madras. The scene of the combats described lay between Ramaswaram and Maithurū. Cf. v. 197.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above v. 183.

<sup>6</sup> The gerund dated in 192 b shows that the sentence here is not finished. The principal verb is *peseti* in 196 a. For the title Rājavesi-  
bhujaṅga see note to 78. 91 c d (p. 10, n. 3).

had been saved from the hands of the foe and now, since through fear he dared not come near, was sojourning in the province of 196 Malaya<sup>1</sup>. He (Lañkāpura) sent a messenger to him: "I have here in war again and again completely vanquished Kulasekhara 197 together with his dignitaries and am now standing, after capturing a part of the realm, not far from Madburi at a distance 198 of two or three gāvutas<sup>2</sup>. But my Master who had in view the protection of thy royal father, has since the murder of 199 this Ruler by his foes, at the tidings of this, given me the following charge: 'he has placed himself under my protection, if now he has been slain by the hostile king, ye shall now 200 slay the latter and make over the realm of the Pugū King 201 Parakkama to a scion of his house, if such there be'. Therefore come without fear in haste hither, and take over the 202 dominion in thy father's kingdom." Thus ran the friendly message in accord with the truth<sup>3</sup>. When the Prince heard of this matter in the right manner, he beook himself to him 203 without delay. Hereupon Lañkāpura sent a letter to Lañka 204 to the Great king with the news that the prince had arrived destitute. When the Great king had attentively heard this report, he sent joyfully many golden and silver vessels worthy 205 to eat from, as well as many gold and silver lump-stands and exquisite garments from his own stock, worthy to clothe 206 himself with, earrings and chains and bangles set with jewels 207 and the like as a gladdening gift. And the Prince accepted the whole of the heart-ravishing gift reverently making obeisance in the direction in which the King was.

208 Hereupon Lañkāpura fought with great might against Kapiladeva-mūra-śīyara in Muṇḍikkāra, drove him from this 209 place and brought the Dūsiles into his power in the two

<sup>1</sup> As in Ceylon and Pegg (76. 22) also in Southern India name for the mountainous country. Cf. the name of the Malvālis who live in the districts of Areal and Bafem, that is in the mountains west of Pondicherry.

<sup>2</sup> About four to six miles. See note to T3. 154.

<sup>3</sup> The words *ti yated saṃyoga na* made in v. 201 d refer to *duṣyate* posed in v. 206, comprehending the contents of the message.

districts Kijamangala and Melamangala<sup>1</sup> while he tarried there. Then by restoring Muddikāru to Mālava-rāyara — whose heart was overwhelmed with fear and who bereft of all defiance, had placed himself under his protection — he placed 210 him in his (old) position and appointed him chief of the two districts of Mangala. When then Lankāpura, while tarrying 212 in Anivalakotṭa, had appointed the colonel Gokappanāpala who was in Mopjaunāmāpikotṭa as chief<sup>2</sup>, he set forth from there 213 and surprised Neppuru<sup>3</sup>. He fought with the officers quartered in Mānavramadhu, with the two Ajatturu-nājāvāras, with 214 Kalinga-rāyara<sup>4</sup> and Kalikāla-rāyara a great battle. The 215 mighty one slew many Damilas, as well as Kalikāla-rāyara and brought Madhurū into his possession. He brought here- 216 upon many Damilas, as well as Mavaraya and Karambūlatta- 217 rāyara<sup>5</sup> into his power, marched then with his troops to the 218 castle of Ajatturu-nājāvāra, fought hard to subdue, with Kalinga-rāyara and Cullakānēakupura-rāyara a great battle, 219 drove them with terrible courage from this place, and after 220 he had then burnt down many well-known villages, the great hero betook himself again to Neppuru<sup>6</sup>. Now there came 221 from the south hither Cullakānēakupura-rāyara, the two Ajatturu-nājāvāras, Mānāya-rāyara<sup>7</sup>, further Parittikupūyara 221

<sup>1</sup> Upper and Lower Mangala (W.I.).

<sup>2</sup> The loc. *Ajāvalakotṭi* (cf. below note to v. 235) belongs equally to *rajan* and to *rajanāyaka* ītev. The supplementing of the word *rajanāyaka* is to be inferred from *gokappanāmāpikotṭa* and *rajanāyaka* visible in v. 211. W. has quite a different rendering but hardly a correct one “and made him (the Mālava-rāyara) chief of Gokappanāpala in Muddikāru”.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned already in v. 189, a proof that the fighting went on with alternate vicissitudes round about Madhurū.

<sup>4</sup> For this name see 76. 174.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. for these names 76. 140 and 189.

<sup>6</sup> Verses 208–219 form one sentence. They show how rapidly one event followed another. Neppuru formed, as is shown also by verses 205–7, 204, 203 II., henceforth a main centre for Lankāpura’s operations.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the same as the Magunyu-rāyara mentioned in 76. 141, 17. 7 and 25. For the other names in 221–223 see note to 76. 150 (Cullak<sup>8</sup>); n. to 76. 180, 181 (A)-n., 76. 187 (Par. and Senak).

and Señkupji-rñyara and many other war-skilled Damijas,  
 222 officers from the immediate retinue of King Kulasekhara:  
 223 Kaliṅga-rñyara, Tenuvarappalla-rñyara and Ājavandapperumāja<sup>1</sup>,  
 all people hard to vanquish who after equipping their army,  
 224 came to the place Pātnpata by name, their heart full of fury  
 225 and firmly determined this time to conquer the foe. When  
 226 Laṅkāpura heard of the matter he, the expert, sent officers  
 thither with a big army and train. They marched thither,  
 227 invested the fortress from all sides, burned down a score of  
 large villages near the stronghold and after making their  
 report, sent a messenger to Laṅkāpura to ask if they were  
 228 to take the fortress or not. At such tidings Laṅkāpura once  
 more sent forth a great army and gave the charge to capture  
 229 the fortress. When now they received the command sent to  
 230 them, they began all of them to open a fearful fight. There  
 raged between the two armies a battle — hardly bearable,  
 awful, exasperating — like to the raging of the storm at  
 231 the destruction of the world. Damijas thousands in number  
 they deprived of life, besides that the Tenuvarappalla-rñyara  
 232 from the immediate retinue of the King. When Ājavandappe-  
 rumāja after receiving a wound, took flight, they slew the  
 horse he had mounted and seized this and many other steeds,  
 233 and while they brought joyous laughter to the lotus counte-  
 nance of the goddess of fortune of heroes, the Sihalas shatter-  
 234 ed with a lion's courage the army of the Damijas. After  
 Laṅkāpura had taken possession of Pātnpata he later on brought  
 the troops standing there over to his side.

235 Laṅkāpura beook himself thereupon to Anivalakkikotta<sup>2</sup>  
 236 and subdued Mūjuva-cakkarattin in Añeukoṭṭa. After he had  
 in like manner captured Topji and Pasa<sup>3</sup>, he advanced to  
 Kurundaiķupadiy to clear the region lying northwards of the

<sup>1</sup> Kaliṅga above 72. 158 note; Ājavandapperumāja 76. 128, 232, Tenu-  
 varappalla falls in battle according to v. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the name as above in v. 212, Anivalakkotta. The place  
 is repeatedly mentioned below v. 236 ff. Cf. note to v. 238.

<sup>3</sup> The two places must have lain very near together since their  
 names 77. 91 are formed into the compound Tandipāsa.

enemy. After he had there subdued Vajupthi-rūpura, he 237 bestowed on him as a gift of favour, a golden bracelet and the like. Then he marched thence and betook himself to 238 Tirivekambama<sup>1</sup>. Here he subdued Silameghara, Kannsiyā-  
rayara and Añcukotta-nāñjalyāra<sup>2</sup> and showed them all 239 marks of favour as before (to Vajupthi). Thereupon the great 240 hero whose word was to be trusted<sup>3</sup>, sent a message to Puñ-  
kongja-nāñjalyāra<sup>4</sup> in order to bring him under his influence. But when the latter without showing himself, went to 241 Semponmūri, Lankāpura betook himself thither in order to capture Semponmūri. To capture this fortress a Coja army 242 had once upon a time marched hither and could not take it in spite of a four days' fight. This inaccessible stronghold 243 the Sibhas with their lion-like courage, captured<sup>5</sup> without allowing more time than half a day to pass. After they had 244 broken through two outerwalls and four gate-towers, they penetrated like singly marching elephants<sup>6</sup> into the interior of the fortress, slew there the Dāniyas, many thousands in 245 number, and conquered thus in a moment the stronghold Semponmūri. Thereupon (came) the troop of the Kallarus, the 246 Maravaras<sup>7</sup>, as also the Gojihāras and the Kuntavaras, the army 247 of Vallakkattāra and the troop of Ucena, as also the mighty army in the district of Añcukotta: these exceeding brave, hot- 248

<sup>1</sup> Is also mentioned in v. 206 and 270 in close connection with Kannanakunḍijā or Anivalakki.

<sup>2</sup> Kannsiyā is only mentioned here. For the two others see above notes to v. 95 and 99.

<sup>3</sup> P. *succeswādhī*. This is specially stressed. Evidently Lankāpura had guaranteed Puñkongja's safety. Puñkongja nevertheless does not risk presenting himself in Lankāpura, as he distrusts his promises.

<sup>4</sup> See note to 76. 187.

<sup>5</sup> *Duggras* must be supplemented by the verb *gahare* from v. 245 c.

<sup>6</sup> W. "one by one like unto so many elephants." I think however, that we must take *paccekabuddhīm* in the same sense as 72. 248 ("solitary elephants, rogue elephants"). Cf. the note.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. above note to 76. 190. The troops mentioned in v. 246-7 are those belonging to particular tribes or those drawn from the men of certain districts who are capable of bearing arms.

headed forces of the Damijs, numbering some fifty to sixty thousand, surrounded thereupon the fortress occupied by the Sihalas and opened at once a most embittered fight. Then the Lankāpura Dera<sup>1</sup> and the Lankāgiri Sora opened the gate by the southern tower, accompanied by their troops (and) with a courage scarcely to be surpassed, robbed Damijs thousands of them, of their life, shattered with lion-like courage the uncivil Damijs army come from that direction hitherward, as lions a herd of elephants. From the southern door there broke forth at this moment the general Gokayya and the Kesadhattu Loka by name, slew many soldiers of the enemy on the battlefield and shattered to the last man the hostile forces which remained over from the slaughter. From the northern tower-gate came the mighty Kesadhattu Kitti and the officer named Jagadvijaya for which scarce any man was a match. The heroes shattered in no time the Damijs army after robbing many Damijs warriors of their life. Thus the Sihalas destroyed at once in a moment the whole forces of the Damijs, put them to flight, captured many steeds and found themselves — the victory gained, famous by reason of many deeds of heroism — again together in the fortress famous under the name of Semponmāri. Thereupon he subdued<sup>2</sup> the Kuntavaras, the soldiery of the Kallacus, the army of the Gojihalus and the troop of the Maravaras, the army of Vallakkuttura and the following of Īcena, the Athalayūru-nūjavītra and Kaṅgavīra<sup>3</sup> and their shattered army, the dwellers in Tilayūruṇḍu, the army in Kalshayinīdu and the dwellers of Athalayūruṇḍu and those of Kākaṇsāfū<sup>4</sup>; all these Damijs forces all that lay (in a line) from the village of Dellaṇa up to the frontier of the Coja region he brought into his power and bestowed on them favours as before. He accepted the gifts which were brought him by the Vessas and

<sup>1</sup> Already mentioned in 75. 130. Cf. further 76. 310 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I anticipate here the finite verb *enay* *verci* occurring in v. 269 b.

<sup>3</sup> For these two names see note to 76. 157.

<sup>4</sup> The names of districts *vidyut* in v. 261, 262 do not occur otherwise.

the Yavanas<sup>1</sup> and distinguished these people also by countless marks of favour. To Mālava-cakkavattin who placed himself 265 under his protection he restored Semponmūri and appointed him to his (former) post. Then he set forth from there 266 and came again to Tirivekambama and starting hence he reached Kurundālkupūjī<sup>2</sup>.

Now Kaṭarandī-nāṭṭājvāra had in battle with great forces 267 wrested Muṇḍikkāra<sup>3</sup> from Mālava-rāyara. Then seeing no 268 other aid, Mālava-rāyara approached Lankāpura: "be thou 269 my protection". Lankāpura at once summoned his best 270 officers, the two Kesadhātus, known to the people as Kitti 271 and Loka, and the general Gokāpū and charged them as 272 their commander, to open hostilities and restore Muṇḍikkāra 273 to Mālava-rāyara. These betook themselves to the spot, began 274 a combat hard to withstand, drove the foe from Muṇḍikkāra, 275 slew many Damilas and after they had placed Mālava-rāyara 276 once more in his former position, they returned thence to Lankāpura.

Another officer, Pūṇkōḍa-nāṭṭājvāra<sup>4</sup> by name, betook 273 himself to the place called Siriyavala, fought while there a 274 great battle with Mālava-cakkavattin, put him to flight and 275 took the village known by the name of Jayākōḍīma and 276 immediately after that Semponmūri itself. When the hero 277 Lankāpura, best of steadiest men, heard of this event, he set 278 forth himself at once from the fortress Anivalakki and advanced, in order to take Semponmūri, to Tirivekambama<sup>5</sup>. When 279 Pūṇkōḍa-nāṭṭājvāra learned of this event, he left Semponmūri 280 and betook himself from there to Siriyavala. Thereupon the hero 281

<sup>1</sup> P. exam — skr. *aryya* is the name of the third caste. *Yavanas* does not necessarily mean the Greeks (Ionians) but all westerns living in India, more especially those of Arabian origin. See E. H. AYRTON, Ceylon Notes and Queries, 1, 1913, p. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> See note to 76. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 76. 210—211. For Kaṭarandī note to 76. 197.

<sup>4</sup> See above note to 76. 137.

<sup>5</sup> The continued recurrence of place names previously mentioned (cf. 76. 170; 76. 241, 268; 76. 212, 235; 76. 258, 266) shows again that all these contests were waged within a fairly circumscribed area.

Lañkāpura marched to Semponmāri and when now Pankonja-  
 279 nāñjāvāra came thither with the intent to surrender, but  
 without presenting himself, betook himself again to the place  
 Siriayala, Lañkāpura also marched to the village of Siriayala  
 280 and began from all sides an embittered combat. Now Pankonja-  
 281 nāñjāvāra sent the following message: "I will submit to thee,  
 if safety is vouchsafed me, since I am mastered by great fear;  
 282 if not, I dare not come." At the tidings of this Lañkāpura  
 who was himself free from fear, sent a return message with  
 283 the purport that he should come. At the message of the  
 hero Lañkāpura whose word was to be relied on, the former  
 284 free of all dread, betook himself to him. Thereupon Lañkā-  
 pura bestowed on him many favours, summoned also Māja-  
 285 ra-cakkavattin to him, reconciled the two and after he had  
 placed them both in their former positions, the great hero  
 286 betook himself to Neññuru. The two villages which had been  
 laid waste, Kūjasihāmabāja and Vājugāma by name he rebuilt  
 287 and after he had dammed up two tanks in Siriayala and  
 two tanks also in Perumpudaya, he had the tilling of the fields  
 taken in hand.

288 The Ruler Kulasekhara took the troops in Tirigavisi<sup>1</sup>, as  
 well as the troops of the two brothers of his mother in Ten-  
 289 kongu and Vaijakoñgu<sup>2</sup>, and versed in the various expedients  
 of statecraft, such as the distribution of honours and the like,  
 he made deserters of many Dāniyas who had already been  
 290 subdued and began now, equipped with forces to march forth  
 to battle. When the prudent Lañkāpura heard trustworthy  
 291 tidings of this he destroyed the traitorous Dāniyas root and  
 branch, true to the command of his Lord whose task it was  
 to subdue the miscreants.

292 Thereupon there came sent by the Great king to cover  
 his rear, the hero Jagadvijaya<sup>3</sup> by name whose courage ex-  
 293 ceeded that of the whole world, accompanied by many foot

<sup>1</sup> See 76. 143 with the note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 77. 43.

<sup>3</sup> As he is already mentioned in v. 255 in the struggle for Sempon-  
 māri, it may be assumed that Lañkāpura had sent him to Lañkā for  
 reinforcements.

soldiers and steeds to Anivalakki after crossing the ocean. The far-famed Laikāpura likewise left Netṭūru and betook 294 himself to Anivalakki. He sought out the newly-arrived (Jagadvijaya), embraced him and having conversed with him 295 in heartfelt and friendly manner, the foe-crusher returned to Netṭūru. Setting forth from there, he came, having knowledge 296 of the right places, to the place known by the name of Mundramūḍham and took up far-famed for his courage, his position there. At the place called Kīṣakotṭa and at the place 297 by name Maṅgalama<sup>1</sup> he fought with the Damiṇas, slew many soldiers, took such foes as one was obliged to seize, alive and 298 captured many horses which had been left on the battlefield. Then he set forth from there, came to Orītiyūrūtombāra and 299 endowed with a surplus of invincible courage, he fought with Pūṇkoya-nañjāvāra, Sillameghāra and Añcukotṭa-nañjāvāra<sup>2</sup> 300 a great (and) terrible battle. After cutting down many Dā- 301 milas he betook himself to Siriyavula, burned down the two- 302 storeyed palace of Pūṇkoya-nañjāvāra who had not submitted 303 to him and marched from the place Tirikkānappera farther. The general Jagadvijaya now advanced from Anivalakki to 303 Netṭūru, set forth from there and shattered, himself un- 304 approachable<sup>3</sup>, the fortresses called Madhuramāgarīra, Pāttanallūru and Sornūlakkotṭa. Returned to Netṭūru he tarried 305 there and brought the two Ajattīru-nañjāvāras and Collaknac- 306 kunda-rāyāra<sup>4</sup> to submission. When once the hero with great 307 forces came to Pāttanallūru, he sent to Laikāpura the follow- 308 ing message: "Thou must come with greatest haste to the 309 river called Vayiga; I must needs see thee, there is some- 310 thing to report." When the hero Laikāpura received these 311 tidings, he set off with all speed thence and began the march 312 with large forces. The hostile army which was standing at 313

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below note to 77. 58.

<sup>2</sup> The three named here belonged to those chieftains who having submitted to Laikāpura (v. 280 ff., v. 238) had since deserted (v. 239).

<sup>3</sup> Put on *dagge—daggaar*, the latter referring to the subject. The skr. *durgama* is an epithet of Śiva.

<sup>4</sup> See above v. 280 and note.

310 the place called Tirippāluru, saddled its numerous horses, came hither and halfway began to fight a terrible combat with the Lañkāpura Deva and the other heroes who were present  
 311 in the battle. Thereupon the heroes dispersed the great army even as the beams of the sun spreading forth (disperse)  
 312 the mass of the darkness. Thus did Lañkāpura whose bravery was as the fire of the last day, capture in a moment  
 313 Tirippāluru and took up his abode there. The officer by name Jagadvijaya, versed in good counsel, shattered the great army  
 314 of Damilas dwelling in Pusumtākotta, capable of starting a battle on the battlefield, brought the fortress into his power and halted there.

315 King Kulasekhara in his exceeding fury took Tuvarādhi-  
 316 pativelāra, as well as Tonjāmānara, Virapperryara and  
 Nigaya-rāyara, Kālatupadiya-nāgālāyara and the other Kaṅga-  
 317 rāyara<sup>1</sup>, made his many soldiers ready for battle and betook  
 318 himself, his loins girt for battle, to Rājina. The great general  
 of terrible courage charged his terrible army to give battle  
 319 to Lañkāpura. The hero Lañkāpura thereupon, expert in  
 320 affairs, explained the affair to Jagadvijaya: "In order together  
 with me to put to flight the Monarch Kulasekhara, thou must  
 so as to attack from the one side, make thy troops ready for  
 321 battle and come hither with all haste." After he had sent  
 him a message of such purport and had at the same time  
 322 equipped his own strong army, he set forth from there and  
 fought a great battle with the Damilas. They were van-  
 323 quished, withdrew at once to Rājina, closed the tower-gates  
 with the small and the great gates and the Damilas  
 now with their Monarch kept to the centre of the town.  
 324 Thereupon the heroes at the head, the general Gokāyā, the  
 325 Kesalāthu named Loka and the Lañkāpura Deva, who had  
 arrived at the west gate, began to tear down the walls and  
 326 to blow up the tower-gates. The Lañkāpura Deva and the  
 general Gokāyā after shattering walls and tower-gates, pene-

<sup>1</sup> Nigaya is mentioned again in the sequel (77. 69). As regards the other names see note to 76. 107.

trated within. But the haughty Kesadhinu, the mighty Loka 327 by name, thought: by the way the others went I go not; he slew numbers of heroic warriors, brought down many steeds, 328 blew up the southern gate and at once penetrated within. Thereupon Kulasekhara fled, his heart overwhelmed with fear, 329 no longer even master of the clothes he wore, by the postern of the eastern tower-gate<sup>1</sup> which he had had opened, and 330 by a lucky chance he escaped out of the hands of his foes. These all cut down numbers of soldiers of the Damilas, took 331 away many horses and much treasure of many a kind, and 332 shaking their garments, dancing around, clapping their hands and rejoicing, they celebrated the festival of victory. There- 333 upon Lakkipura and the general Jagadvijaya entered Rajinā along with the other heroes.

Thus thrives ever more and more the state of those who 334 have done good, who are endowed with a keen understanding, who understand statecraft and moral discipline, whose riches are their terrible majesty, whose manliness fails not, even as the moon in the light half of the month (waxes) from day to day.

Here ends the seventy-sixth chapter, called «Account of the Capture of the Town of Rajinā», in the Mahāvagga, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the priests.

<sup>1</sup> The loc. *gopārī* stands for the gen. *gopurāsā*; *piṭhādādīrī gopure* means the same as *piṭhāngogopura-dāmūlī*.

## CHAPTER LXXVII

## THE CONQUEST OF THE PANDU KINGDOM

1 The Monarch Kulasekhara who had fled thence through fear found again a firm footing in Toojamāna's<sup>1</sup> mountain fortress.  
 2 The forces of Viranukkara and other (soldiers) from Kakkola,  
 3 the forces of Madhuraddhamakkāra<sup>2</sup> came to Rājinā, related  
 the whole story of King Kulasekhara and persuaded Lāṇikā-  
 4 pura to betake himself at once to Madhurā. Thereupon Lāṇikā-  
 pura and the general Jagadvijaya equipped with great luck,  
 5 set forth for the town of Madhurā, gave over to the Prince  
 Virapagju the dwelling of his royal father, which was his  
 6 birthplace, and took up their abode in the town. They had  
 summoned to them the three Virapperryaras: him called  
 Sirivallabha, Rājā Nārūyaya, and him called Parakkampayāju,  
 7 (further) the officer Maṇḍayān-rāyāra and Seṇkugḍi-rāyāra, the  
 8 other Virapperryara Keraṇsihamuttara<sup>3</sup> and bestowed on them  
 ornaments and the like. To Colagangara who had submitted,  
 9 they made over the supreme direction of the district Parittik-  
 kuyḍi<sup>4</sup> formerly administered by him, and restored him to his  
 10 former position. Kalavandhiya-nāḍālāyāra<sup>5</sup> came indeed with the  
 intention of submitting<sup>6</sup>, but when he had entered Madhurā,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above 76. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently local troops which had voluntarily submitted to the victor.

<sup>3</sup> Virapperryara is clearly a title here. Cf. 76. 138 and 316. Of the other names Maṇḍayāna is mentioned 76. 141, 77. 35, Seṇkugḍi 76. 138 (q. v.) and Keraṇsihamuttara 76. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Colagangara is mentioned 76. 124. The place name Parittikkuyḍi is met with in Parittikkuyḍiyāṣṭ 76. 137 and 221.

<sup>5</sup> See 76. 141.

<sup>6</sup> P. case hēṣay as or. rectn. Cf. a similar phrase 75. 85.

he thought: I fear to let myself be seen, and returned without presenting himself, to his place. Thereupon Lankāpura marched into his district to take it. The unrivalled one, equipped with great power and courage, offered him battle, defeated him and captured Ahugānagiri. Kalavynoliyā-nāḍīvīra and another named Sradeva submitted and besought the general for (the restoration of) his district; at his request Lankāpura handed over to him the district. Then the far-famed betook himself to the district of Kurumba-rāyura and after he had also subdued Kurumba-rāyura and likewise brought Kaṅguyara in Niyama into his power, the hero betook himself later to the place called Tiripputturu in order to make subject to himself also Nigaladha-rāyara<sup>1</sup>.

Nigaladha-rāyara gathered together his own army, took with him also the Cola officers, Akalanka-nāḍīvīra and Kañcamba-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara and Kiccūrattarayara<sup>2</sup> as well as their numerous troops and the many horses in their possession, marched thence and began a combat hard to withstand. But the army of the Sīhalas transformed the hostile host together with steeds and infantry — stretching three gāvulas wide<sup>3</sup> from Tiripputturu to Ponasmurāvati, along the highway between the two places — into a single mass of flesh. After it had shattered these vast forces it came to Ponasmurāvati, burned down the three-storeyed palace built there, and after setting fire to many other houses and well-filled granaries of rice, the hero (Lankāpura) in order to rob the inhabitants of their fear, had the drums beaten, took the people who were settled in the district under his own dominion and returned to Madhurī<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Of the names mentioned in vv. 19—20 those of Sradeva and Kurumba do not otherwise occur. For Kaṅguyara see Til. 141, for Kaṅguyam see 26. 140, for Nigaladhu 26. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Akalanka, Malayappa and Kiccūrattarayara are mentioned again later (77. 35 ff.)

<sup>3</sup> The front extended thus over a distance of something like six miles (cf. 73. 161 and note).

<sup>4</sup> The subject changes in this sentence. In the principal sentence

25 Now the Monarch (Parakkamabahu) whose commands stand firm, sent the order to hold the festival of the coronation for  
 26 Prince Virapuṇa. When Laṅkapura heard of this command  
 of the King's which could not be gainsaid, he set about mak-  
 27 ing the preparations for the consecration. He then charged the  
 28 Lambakappas Mālava-cukkavuttin, Mālava-rāyava and Athala-  
 yāru-nājāyāra to carry out the duties of the Lambakappas<sup>1</sup>,  
 had then as one whose commands are scarcely to be evaded,  
 29 the drums beaten in the kingdom and gathered together all  
 the officers in the Pāpiṇi realm at the head of their own  
 30 troops and adorned with all their ornaments. Then in a temple  
 of the deities to the north of the palace of former kings,  
 31 adorned with the drums of victory captured aforesome, the  
 highly-famed one carried out the consecration of the Prince  
 and made him in accord with tradition, walk round the town,  
 his right side turned towards it.

32 Meanwhile the Ruler Kulasekhara who had fled to the  
 mountain fortress of Togjamāna, had brought Togjamāna  
 33 round to his side. He took his army as well as his own  
 troops, and together with Amajivisumiddha, a man of terrible  
 34 courage, he set forth from that hill fortress and reached the  
 important stronghold called Maṅgalama into which he entered.  
 35 With Maṇṇaya-rāyava and Seṅkugdiya-rāyava who had sub-  
 36 mitted to the Sihalas<sup>2</sup> he fought a great battle; he captured  
 their fortress and took up a position there. When Laṅkapura  
 37 heard of the matter and how it had happened, he thought:  
 "Only when I shall have driven the hostile ruler from this

(v. 24) *āśra* is the subject and *āpṛīḍhi* the finite verb. The gerunds occurring in vv. 21-23 have as subject *āśra* *śihātādīśvārī*. They are thus again treated as absolute locatives. Cūlava, ed. 1, Introd., p. XVI.

<sup>1</sup> We learn two things from this passage: that a Lambakappa clan existed also in Southern India and that the members of this clan performed particular functions at the festival of the king's consecration. For the three names see notes to 76, 132 and 197.

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to 77. 7. It must be assumed that the Togjamāna named in v. 32 who figures in 76, 915 as one of Kulasekhara's followers, had submitted to the Sihalas, but under Kulasekhara's influence had again deserted them.

place and cleansed this district so rich in mountain and forest strongholds shall I return." He left the town of Nadhirā, 38 put up a stronghold near Maingalampotṭa<sup>1</sup> and took up his position there. With mighty forces they fought a great battle 39 with the three brothers of the wife of Tepjamāna: Kallakka- 40 velāra, Mupayadha-rāyura and Kālingu-rāyara<sup>2</sup>; captured the 41 fortress, slew many Damilas and after later on taking Sri- 42 lappattū also the highly-fumed ones<sup>3</sup> took up a position there. 43 Thereupon the hostile Monarchs Kulasekhara gathered together the troops standing in Tiriyaveli<sup>4</sup>, sent also to the two brothers 44 of his mother a message and took the troops in Tenkōngu and Vajakorū<sup>5</sup> and after the great general had brought 45 this whole army together, he gave the order to halt at the fortress called Santaneri. Now Lankāpura and the general 46 Jagadvijaya immediately set forth on the way to take this strong- 47 hold. To bar the way to the enemy Kulasekhara versed in the 48 right-expedients, had the great tank pierced. When the hero 49 Lankāpura heard tidings of this he said: "When one goes forth to fight a decisive battle with the sight of a pierced 48 tank on the way is not good." So the mighty one immediately 50 but it dammed up again. Thereupon he advanced with great 51 forces and courage against yonder strong fortress, fought a bitter fight, broke quickly into it, slew him called Kallakka- 52 velāra and many other Damilas and captured numbers of horses of the Damilas. Then they pressed forward into the two vil- 53 lages belonging to Tepjamāna, called Tirimulakke and Katlāla, burned down the village called Tirimulakke so that nought

<sup>1</sup> Of course the same as the fortress Maingalama mentioned in v. 31, and which also occurs in 76. 297.

<sup>2</sup> For the two last names cf. 76. 146 and 76. 174 ff. The first occurs again 77. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of the sing. (*Lankāpura* v. 86) of the new sentence (from v. 30 a b) has the plur. What is meant are Lankāpura and his general. Sriyalipattū is the present Sriyalipattū (cf. also W.) in the Tirunelveli District not far from the borders of Travancore.

<sup>4</sup> See 76. 143 and 298 and notes.

<sup>5</sup> See 76. 289.

but its name remained, because it was there that the Payju  
 53 king Parakkama had been murdered<sup>1</sup>. Then he set forth from  
 there and after reaching the village Colakulantaka the highly-  
 54 famed one tarried there for some time<sup>2</sup>. King Kulasekhara  
 now took the two brothers of his mother, also the troops of  
 55 the twain and their many horses, further Akalaṅka-nāḍīvāra,  
 56 and Pallava-rāyara, Malayappa-rāyara, Kapilambo-rāyara and  
 Kiecarattarayara who was endowed with great power and  
 courage, and with all these Coja officers and their numerous  
 57 army as also with Kalavuṇḍiya-nāḍīvāra and his troops and  
 58 with Puṇḍikōla-nāḍīvāra<sup>3</sup> at the head of his army, the mighty  
 one came himself to the place called Palankotta and ordered  
 59 his great army to Puglumāḍukottāna and the place called  
 Uriyeri<sup>4</sup>, this time firmly determined on the vanquishing of  
 60 the foe. Thereupon Lankāpura and the general Jagadvijaya  
 61 went forth from the village of Colakulantaka to battle. They  
 so planned it that the hostile army which had occupied the two  
 62 great fortresses<sup>5</sup>, were disinclined for giving battle in the open  
 field, had then a great entrenchment made at the village of  
 Uriyeri above the tank and took up a position there during  
 63 the night. But the hostile army which had occupied the two  
 fortresses, dispersed and went thither where the Ruler Ku-

<sup>1</sup> W.'s happy suggestion of *etha hata* is certainly correct. I may remark that all the MSS. have *ethē gata*; *ethigata* as read by the Col. Ed. occurs nowhere.

<sup>2</sup> There is a change again in number, this time from the plur. (*pa-*  
*ciṭṭha*) in v. 51 c to the sing. (*mīḍhīṭha*) in 53 c.

<sup>3</sup> For Akulanda see 57. 17, for Malayuppu 77. 10, for Kalavuṇḍiyan  
 76. 141 and Puṇḍikōla 76. 139. All these names occur again later.  
 The same with Pallava and Kāṇṭubha who have so far not been  
 mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> The localities *Puglumāḍukottāna* and *Uriyeri* *thvā* are di-  
 rectly dependent on *nīyati*. The skr. *nīyati* is also used with the  
 locative of that to which anyone is determined or commanded. In 73. 267  
 we have the same as in this passage *kyāmūḍīna nīyati*. Cf. further  
 77. 62. It is therefore quite unnecessary to change *thvā* into *thāṭā*  
 as is done by the Col. Ed. — Palankotta (see also W.) is the present  
 Palum-kotta in the Tinnevelly District.

<sup>5</sup> That is *Puglumāḍukottāna* and *Uriyeri*.

Kulasekhara was standing. Now Laṅkāpura and the general 64 Jagadvijaya well discriminating between favorable and unfavorable places, marched to Palaikotta. The heroes fought 65 a terrible battle with the hostile sovereign, slew many warriors, captured many steeds, put the Monarch Kulasekhara at once 66 to flight and took Palaikotta. Then they set forth from there, 67 came into the domain of him called Tavarādhipativeda and received the horses and elephants supplied by him<sup>1</sup>. But when 68 they heard: the Monarch Kulasekhara has come to Madhurā<sup>2</sup>, they in order to drive him from this place, hereupon marched 69 to Adharaṭṭeri, subdued there Nigaya-rāyara and showed him 70 many marks of favour. Now when they again set forth from 71 this place the Ruler Kulasekhara smitten with fear, betook 72 himself to the Cola country. Hereupon Laṅkāpura charged 73 the dignitary by name Jagadvijaya, to take up a position at 74 the place called Pāṭṭapallīru. He himself went at the head 75 of his troops to Tirikkāsippēra. But King Kulasekhara had 76 meanwhile by various entreaties won over the Cola King to 77 his side and at the command of this King he took the army 78 and the many horses of him called Pallava-rāyara, also 79 him called Isandapada together with Togjamāna, the rāyara 80 called Rājarājakalappa, further Kaṅgakouḍakalappa-rāyara, as 81 well as the Nakārānīlūpa-rāyara, the hero Niċcavinedavīvata- 82 rāyara, Karasihapadma and Sekirapadma-rāyara, Rājinda- 83 brahmamahārāja and Mādhuvra-rāyara . . . as also Colakenūra, 84 Janābrahmamahārāja and Colatirikku-rāyara — these troop 85 leaders in Ucenākuṭṭha he took with him, with these he took also 86 Niyarāya and Kappiśrimpekula, further Mūlbara-rāyara and 87 Kāpjuveṭṭi, further Kongunāṅgala-nēḍūvūra, Akalaṭka-nēḍūvūra- 88 vūra and Kavḍambu-rāyara, as also Kīlamāṅgala-nēḍūvūra, 89 Viśālamugita-rāyara<sup>3</sup> and their many horses and sent them to 90

<sup>1</sup> The context shows that Tavarādhipativeda (for whom see 76, 133, 315) had submitted voluntarily.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that Kulasekhara can dare to attack Madhurā which was formerly (see v. 38) in Laṅkāpura's hands, shows that so far he had suffered no overwhelming defeat. He even succeeds in enlisting the Colas in his cause.

<sup>3</sup> Of the numerous names mentioned here six occur earlier: Pallava

82 Toydi and Pāsa<sup>1</sup>. When Lankāpura heard of the matter he was minded to so destroy them that only their name should remain. The hero ordered the general Jagadrijaya by name to Madhurā, he himself then set forth from Tirikkānappera 83 and marched to the town of Kālenilaya situated on the borders of Madhurā. Now the mighty Cola army opened the great 84 combat. For a distance of four gāvutas<sup>2</sup> he filled the road with corpses, he also slew many soldiers who had flung themselves into the sea and dyed the water of the ocean ruddy with the blood of the foe<sup>3</sup>. He took (as booty) many horses 86 and captured many Damilas alive — Rajindubrahmanalāruṇa and Nandipadmarā, Narasīhapadmarā and Colakonīra — and again 87 with great forces, burned to the ground Vaiḍamayamnekkuṇḍi, 88 Maymekkuṇḍi and Maṇeakkunḍi. Then having laid waste by fire a strip of the Cola country seven gāvutas in extent<sup>4</sup> and 89 thus quelled the Colas, he returned thence, and when he came to the village called Velaikunḍi under the dominion of Nigaladha-rāyara<sup>5</sup>, he sent to him the message to appear 90 before him. But as Nigaladha-rāyara was at that time under the sovereignty of King Kulasekhara he took the Monarch 91 Kulasekhara, as well as Siliṁegbara, and Akalatika-kiḍalīvira and Kārajamba-rāyara, Malayappā-rāyara and Visiḍamutta-

77.66, Tigrāmīra 70.137, Nīcarinadevīgāvī 76.144, Colakonīra 76.145, Akalānka 77.17, Kāgulumba 77.66. Cf. the accompanying notes. The name Mādhava-rāyara is twice mentioned. Three occur later. Narasīha-padmarā 77.86, Bajindubrahma 77.80, and Visiḍamutta 77.41. Cf. with Kāṅgakonḍakōṭṭipā, Kāṅgakonḍappera-rāyara 76.180 note; with Kīlā-miṭigala-nāyājīvū, the name of the district Kīlāmāgala in 76.209; and with Kāyūsēṭṭī the name of Narasīha's capital Kāyūsēṭṭī in 47.7.

<sup>1</sup> P. *Toydiyāsaya*. Cf. note in 76.236.

<sup>2</sup> About 8 miles.

<sup>3</sup> The description is extraordinary. From what has gone before the battle must have taken place in the neighbourhood of Madhurā, therefore not near the sea.

<sup>4</sup> Nandipadmarā is not mentioned in the list given in v. 13 ff.

<sup>5</sup> About 14 miles.

<sup>6</sup> For Nigaladha cf. 76.129, 77.10 ff.

rayara, Kalavandji-nālājivāra and the troops of Tiriyaveli, and 92 Pukkogda-nālājivāra, and with mighty forces he came to Ponnamaravalli<sup>1</sup> to fight a decisive battle. When Laikūpura 93 received tidings of these events he set forth with great forces from Velakkupdi to vanquish the hostile ruler. The hostile 94 army which advancing from fire sides\*, began the battle he shattered in a moment with fearsome courage, slew Dunnīlas 95 thousands in number, took (as booty) many horses and put the Ruler Kulasekhara to flight. Nigaladha-rājyara thereupon sent 96 in his terror the message: "Thou shalt have the whole of my treasures and my many horses, and shalt pardon my of- 97 fense, but thou must by no means prepare my destruction<sup>2</sup>." When Laikūpura heard that he sent a return message: "Thy 98 treasures and thy horses are of no use to me, fear not and 99 come in person and present thyself". When he heard that, he came to seek out Laikūpura. When the latter saw him 100 he showed him favour, assigned him the province and gave him abundant money with which to rebuild his palace which had been burned down. Then the fair-skinned one started forth, 101 came to Niyama and freed the whole province from the terrors (of the enemy). He introduced into the country everywhere 102 for trade kālātpayas which were stamped with the name of the Ruler Parakkama. To Prince Virapaydu he made over 103

<sup>1</sup> According to 77. 20 ff., Lankāpura had already fought with Nigadindha for Ponnmaravati. In the list enumerated in v. 78 ff. the following of Nigadindha's allies are not mentioned: Sibhāpēghara (cf. note to 76. 99), Maluyappa (77. 18, 50), Kaliyangi (76. 143) and Pusikanti (76. 139). For Tirupucelli see 76. 143. — Vv. 84-93 form in the original one sentence. The subject however, changes. The subject belonging to all the gerunds in 84-89 (up to *palihittha*) is *Lankāpura*, from v. 90 onwards it is *or* (Nigadindha-rigard). We must therefore again assume that the preceding gerunds are treated as locative absolutes (Cūlava, ed. 1. Introd., p. XVI) S. and B. try to overcome the difficulty by emendation, they change *palihittha* to 84. 51 into *palihittha*.

<sup>2</sup> W. refers apparently to the subject (Fischbauer) *Mitschriften* but it is really subordinate to *paratitla* in *paratitla* which *paratitla* is secondary.

<sup>3</sup> The text is corrupt. I have tried to help matters by a conjectural rendering (*rinusarum*) which seems to me not quite so far-fetched as the emendations of the Col. Ed.

the government and sent with speed to Sihala the many horses, men and elephants captured from the Cola country and from the Pugju land<sup>1</sup>.

104 Now King Parakkamabābu that lion among royal princes, founded in memory of the conquest of the Pugju country the 105 splendid village Pandurijaya by name, which prospered through all time. But to the Brahmins he whose joy was in giving, gave an alms.

106 Parakkamabābu, the first in the race of rulers of the earth, whose mind was endowed with discrimination between what was statesmanlike and what was unstatesmanlike, who was an abode of every virtue, gifted with the gracious beauty of the god of love ruled a long time alone over the ocean-bounded earth.

Here ends the seventy-seventh chapter, called "The Conquest of the Pugju Kingdom", in the Mahāvīra, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The narrative ends abruptly. One is faced by a series of questions which remain unanswered. What became of Kulasekhara? What of the great coalition of South Indian princes Colas and Pugjas described in v. 72 of whom at the most only a few individuals were conquered? Does Virapuṇḍu succeed in maintaining his power? Since Kulasekhara did not fall in battle he will scarcely have left his rival in peace. What is Lañkāpura's after fate? It is curious that his return to Ceylon is never mentioned and that there is no word of the distinctions bestowed on him by Parakkamabābu. It is pretty clear that the chronicler has concealed the failure which overtook the expedition after its initial success. The ideal figure of Parakkamā which he has in mind, must not be dimmed by association with any misfortune. South Indian inscriptions relate that Lañkāpura was defeated and that his head with those of his officers was nailed to the gates of Madhura. In the 4th year of Kulottunga Cola III (1181-2) Virapuṇḍu was driven out and the Sinhalese troops finally defeated. H. W. Cummins, H.C., p. 62. See also note to 76, 80.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII

## THE BUILDING OF VĪHĀRAS

Now after the sovereign of Lañkā, Purakkamabha who 1 had received consecration as king, who was experienced in statecraft, had thus made peaceful the land of Lañkā, he 2 cherished, full of zeal, the wish to further the advancement of the Order of the Master for which he had striven when attaining the royal dignity, since it was a most excellent merit. Since he perceived that the few loyal bhikkhus — apart 3 from the maintenance of wives and children and so forth by the community in the villages belonging to the community, in 4 which they saw their sole duty, beyond which there was none — did not wish to have ceremonies in common, nor even to see one another<sup>1</sup>, he desired even before the purification of 5

<sup>1</sup> The sentence is difficult. I think the meaning is this that the attitude of the few loyal bhikkhus (*susīla lopi bhikkhusa*) who would not bear of intercourse and of common action with the others, shows the evil conditions existing in the Saṅgha. The *duṣṭa bhikkhusa* were in the majority, the *susīla* were isolated. As regards the construction of the sentence, I believe that *puttadāvīpasaññā* is governed by *thapetā* (4 a) and *abhyantarañcī dāsāñcī pi* by *wātāñkhaṇa*. By *anayhañcī* are meant the villages in which the men were active as *ārambhī*. Wives and children of the *ārambhī* were supported by the monastery and this was the only duty from which the *susīla bhikkhusa* did not absolve themselves and the one which brought them into contact with the others. W's version according to which the priests had only thought of the feeding of their (former) wives and children I consider impossible. The text reads: *anayhañcī puttadāvīpasaññā*. But one cannot say that the Saṅgha has children and wives. Only the individual bhikkhu has these. Thus the gen. *anayhañcī* does not belong to *puttadāvī* but to *pasaññā*. Note too the *ob*. This refers to sick

the Order<sup>1</sup>, for the purpose of furthering the Order of the Victor, to achieve unity<sup>2</sup> among the bhikkhus of the three fraternities. Even as the Ruler of men Dhammāsoka (with) Moggaliputtatissa, so he entrusted the Grand thera Mahākassapa by name, with the task — an experienced man who knew the Tipiṭaka and was exceedingly well versed in the Vinaya, a light of the race of theras, conciliatory, long since consecrated. He made the thera Nāvapāla in Anurādhapura together with his pupils and the bhikkhus in the province of Sapara<sup>3</sup> come to Pulinthinagara, further together with the thera Moggullāna, the thera Nāgindapallīya and all the other bhikkhus in the province of the Yoratāja<sup>4</sup>, as well as those belonging to the three fraternities in Rohaya after he had placed at their head the distinguished thera Nanda who dwelt

people and those incapable of work who must of course also be looked after in the saṅghagāma of the monastery.

<sup>1</sup> P. *ado* is used as a preposition and governs the following accusative.

<sup>2</sup> An account of the church reforms of Parakkamabūha is found already in 73. 12-22. That this should be followed by a second detailed account is probably due to the fact that the compiler of the *Chilavatam* had two different sources both of which he employed for his narrative. In a similar way the building activities of the king are dealt with twice over (in 73. 23 ff. and 73. 29 ff.). As regards the reform of the Order I have already referred in the note to 73. 22 to the *Malavīhāra* inscription of Parakkamabūha and to certain similarities in form between it and the account of the *Chilavatam*. A further similarity occurs in the second narrative (73. 21 ff.). The name of the Grand thera Mahākassapa is mentioned as spokesman in the negotiations in which capacity he is also mentioned in the inscription. Then too in both sources a parallel is drawn between King Dhammāsoka and the head of the Third Council, Moggullāna (Mava, 6, 228 ff.) on the one hand, and Parakkamabūha and Mahākassapa on the other. According to the inscription, Mahākassapa was an inmate of the Udumburagiri-vihāra, that is Dīpabulāgala, now Gunner's Quoin Hill on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga about 5 miles SSE. of Malagantota near Polonnaruwa. Cf. Wickramasinghe, EZ. II, 184 ff.; the same, *Chit. of Sinhalese Mus.* in the Brit. Museum, p. XV.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the present province of Sabaragamuwa.

<sup>4</sup> That is in Uakkhīgādama. The bhikkhus mentioned in vv. 8-10 are not named in the inscription.

in the Sāvatthī monastery. Hereupon the Ruler sent a summons 11 to the bhikkhus dwelling in the Mahāvihāra for (bringing about) the mutual concord.

Since the shamelessness had passed all bounds and the 12 schism had lasted a long time, many bhikkhus would hear nothing of conciliation. Many began departing to foreign lands, 13 others left the Order, some wished for a sitting in the secret court of justice<sup>1</sup>. Hereupon one approached the great (and) 14 exceedingly difficult task: conciliation seemed as difficult as the hurling of the Siner<sup>2</sup> mountain. But the Ruler, impartial, 15 firm in his resolves and just, encouraged the bhikkhus and with great pains persuaded them to agree. He had the single 16 points in dispute as they arose settled by the bhikkhus among whom Mahākassapa was the oldest. He was himself present 17 as protector of the court together with those lions among teachers who knew the three Pitakas, and while according to 18 precept he led those bhikkhus capable of being cured to purification, he established harmony among the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra. But the undisciplined he excluded from the Order, 19 and that they might not by striving after gain do harm to the Order, he assigned them iterative positions. After he had 20 thus with great pains purified the Mahāvihāra, he set about bringing the bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri — who since the 21 time of Albhaya<sup>3</sup> had formed a separate group — as well as

<sup>1</sup> I have kept as much as possible to the reading of the MSS. and believe that *īmānicchayayavayat* denotes a secret judicial process in contrast to the official *dharmasabha* of the Order (see note to 30. 57). For the meaning "hidden, concealed" for *īmā* cf. Mhs. 75, 153 where however, it is combined with a loc. as well as *īmāvātā*, 47, 3, "leading a solitary, hidden life". The Col. Ed. reads *īcchām eke vīñānam pi na* *īmānicchayayavayat* and W. translates accordingly: "and many wished not even to sit (with their brethren) in the hall of judgement".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. note to 61. 43. One may compare *sinerukhiparay* with *sottharukhiparay* "the hurling of stones" for an accomplishment, *āpī*, JCh. I, 418<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Vatīgāsīmāñi Albhaya. The story of the separation of the monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra from those of the Mahāvihāra is related in Mhs. 33, 95 ff.

the inmates of the Jetavana — who had separated themselves  
 22 from the days of the Ruler of men Mahāsenā<sup>1</sup>, (they) who  
 gave out as Buddha's word the *Vetulla-Piṭaka*<sup>2</sup> and the like  
 which were no words of Buddha and who had turned away  
 23 from religious duties — into concord with the inmates of the  
 Mahāvihāra who were rich in all virtues, even as glass stones  
 24 with jewels. But as they lacked inward virtue as moral  
 discipline and the like, they came even through the influence  
 25 of the Great community and of the King to no joyful ac-  
 ceptance of the Buddha teaching. And while the just King  
 together with people versed in the right method held the  
 trial, he found not a single member of the Order that had  
 26 kept himself unspoiled<sup>3</sup>. He caused many ascetics to be received  
 as sāmāneras, the undisciplined he dismissed and gave them  
 27 lucrative positions. While thus within a short time achieving  
 purification and unity, he with great pains established again  
 the community as it had been in Buddha's time.

28 Every year he brought the Great community to the river  
 bank<sup>4</sup>, made them take up their abode in a garden there  
 29 while he with his dignitaries paid them respect. Then after  
 firmly anchoring ships in the stream he had a charming  
 30 *māṇḍapa* of beautiful proportions erected on them. Then  
 when he had given to the bhikkhus costly robes and all  
 kinds of articles of use, the wise Prince made them hold the  
 ceremony of admission into the Order<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Mhv. 27, 92 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the heretical *Vetullavāda* to which the Mahāmūrśika monks  
 living in the Abhayagiri monastery adhered, see Mhv. 36, 41, 110 ff.  
 and 37, 1 ff.; Nik. s., p. 12. A. M. Hocart, Mem. ASI, I, 1924, p. 16 ff.

<sup>3</sup> p. *pāṇḍitattva*, lit. "with the original self (being, character)". In  
 Vin. I, 280<sup>16</sup> the word means "In the original condition, restored, cured";  
 In JāCa. I, 296<sup>17</sup> it has a similar meaning to that in our passage as  
 attribute of *Mukha* along with *śāśvata-vipassannāya yuttajayasya*.

<sup>4</sup> On the bank of the Mahaveliganga.

<sup>5</sup> Even to-day the monks in Ceylon in order to be quite undisturbed,  
 are fond of performing their rites in a position built on piles in a sheet  
 of water about a stone's throw from the bank.

Now for the bhikkhus increased in this manner to many 31 hundreds the King was desirous of building in goodly fashion large viharas, suitable for dwelling in. He (therefore) founded 32 the great monastery by name Jetavana<sup>1</sup>, making as it were visible to the eye the beauty of the Jetavana (in Svatthi<sup>2</sup>). For the theras dwelling there in the sacred district, firmly 33 persevering in discipline, he built eight costly pāśas, three storeys high. For the thera named Sāriputta who persevered 34 firmly in discipline, he erected a vast (and) glorious pāśa with rooms, terraces and chambers. Also nine incomparable, 35 three-storeyed image houses (he built) furnished with all appurtenances<sup>3</sup> and diversely adorned with images. For the 36 seventy-five pariveyas (he built) as many long pāśas with charming figures (painted), two storeys high; (further) one 37 hundred and seventy-eight small pāśas, thirty-four gate-towers and two houses for books; huts, grottoes, halls and many 38 sleeping-houses with ornaments of flowers and creepers and with figures of gods, Brahmās and the like. Creating out of 39 brick and stucco an elixir for the eyes<sup>4</sup> (he built) the Tiraka house for the Tiraka image<sup>5</sup>, shimmering with rows of figures 40

<sup>1</sup> What is meant here is without doubt the group of monastic buildings within the city to the north of the citadel, on the so-called Quadrangle. Cf. above all H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASC, 1906 (= LXV, 1906), p. 6 ff., as well as A. M. Heegar, Mem. ASC, II, 1906, p. 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The monastery was like its namesake in Anurādhapura, called after the celebrated park in Sāvatthī which Anūthipadika presented to the Buddha and the Order. See Opannes, Buddha, p. 166; H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> For *pāśya* as substantive in the meaning of "equipment, articles of clothing or of general use", cf. Mhs. 29, 22. The alteration by the Col. Ed. into *substantia* I cannot approve of. The numeral adj. is *svāra* in *svāppaśya*—as is proved by all the MSS.—which S and B likewise felt obliged to alter. The Col. Ed. treats the text too arbitrarily. I believe that *pāśya* here means all the ornaments and garments belonging to a Buddha image with which it is decked out on festive occasions. Cf. note to 38, 64 (towards the end) and to 38, 56.

<sup>4</sup> The beauty of the building acted on the eyes like an elixir (*rasa-yana*). In my edition I have joined the sentence to the preceding. But I think now that it belongs to the following one.

<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to say what is meant by *śrāvaka* in *tīraka* and

41 of lions, kinnaras<sup>1</sup>, geese and the like, with many diversely perforated balustrades<sup>2</sup> and with railings. (Further he built) a beautiful round temple wholly of stone for the Tooth Relic<sup>3</sup>, adorned with glorious pillars, staircases and outer walls<sup>4</sup> and 42 so forth. (Further the built) three sermon halls, a cetiya<sup>5</sup>, 43 eight long cloisters and a refectory of (great) length and breadth, eighty-five fire-houses covered with bricks and one hundred and seventy-eight privies.

*Epigraphic.* Mr. PARASAVITANA, the epigraphist of the ASC (letter of 25-4-28) assumes that the term means the same as *trikāṇḍa*. This is the name given in Indian iconography to a statue with "three heads", that is in the posture in which Viṣṇu or the Nāgas are often represented. He refers to *Selaitthinsundaram* 68, where there is a mention of *Tivakka* images in the Kelani-vihāra and believes that this passage in the Mhvs. refers to these very statues in Kelaniya. It cannot be a Buddha image which is meant in this case. It seems to me certain that the *trikāṇḍa* of our passage refers to a building in Pulathtingara and is the *Jetavana-vihāra*. But cf. note to 85. 65. The most likely seems to be the *Heṭṭa-dā-gē*, an image house on the Quadrangle with three Buddha figures (cf. HOGART, I. I., p. 5) or that building known as the *Thāpūrūpa* also situated there. The first seems however, to be a work of Nissanka-Malla (20. 19 and note), while the other belongs to the time before Parakkamabahu. The expression *trikāṇḍa* remains however in both cases inexplicable.

<sup>1</sup> Mythical beings represented with human bodies and heads of birds. I may remark that W. joins v. 40 to the following as description of the *dhātukādhātugāra*.

<sup>2</sup> P. *jātakāvya*, lit. net-enclosure.

<sup>3</sup> Without doubt the *Vatā-dā-gē* situated on the Quadrangle opposite the *Heṭṭa-dā-gē*. Doss., I. I., p. 21 ff. and Rep. ASC. 1904, p. 5 ff. HOGART, I. I., p. 4. It is a circular building consisting of two concentric terraces. On the upper terrace was a cetiya in which the relic was preserved. In an inscription on the outer stairs Nissanka Malla boasts that he has had the building made. It is however evidently a case of restoration. The outer staircase is indeed of later origin.

<sup>4</sup> I take this "outer wall" to mean the railings leading round the terraces.

<sup>5</sup> There is no stupa in the domain of the *Jetavāna*. One must assume therefore that the tiered tower *Sat-mabal-pāśāda* on the Quadrangle was built as a cetiya. It could not serve as a dwelling, for it is as massive as a dagoba with nothing but a funnel-like circular passage in the basement.

After he had thus by cleansing the Order, cleansed the 44 inward impurity of the bhikkhus, in order to cleanse the outward impurity, that one might be able to bathe in great heat he had eight bath-houses of stone erected, named 45 Vatpanthitakottha, Guhānānakottha, Padumanahūnakottha, Bhaddanahānakottha<sup>1</sup> and so forth, adorned with pillars, 46 staircases and railings. There also the Great king had many walls built. Thus there were in Jetavana in all five hundred 47 and twenty buildings. With the distribution of abundant articles of use, he made the community take up its abode there.

Further the Prince had built there the Ājāhana-pariveya<sup>2</sup> 48 which had all the distinguishing marks (belonging to such a building), being not too far away and the like, and which was universally acknowledged as beautiful. There he built for 49 the there a splendid pāsāda with rooms and terraces, with a choice of various apartments, embellished by turrets, three storeys high. Further forty long pāsādās and as many privies, 50 eight small pāsādās and six gate-towers, thirty-four fire-houses 51 and two larger outer walls, the Subhaddū-cetiya and the Rūpavati-cetiya<sup>3</sup>; besides that a charming stūpa house of five 52 storeys for which — as it was adorned with ornaments of flowers and creepers and with figures of gods and Brahma 53 and embellished with buildings, with turrets, grottoes, apartments

<sup>1</sup> The "round bathing-house", "cave-", "lotus-b.-b." and the "bathing-house of happiness". The temple on the Quadrangle popularly known as the Thūpūrūpa is not mentioned among the buildings of the Jetavana, probably because it already belonged to the time before Parakkamabāhu. *Locality*, I. I., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> H. W. Cummins is certainly right when he says that the description in the M̄hs. proceeds from south to north. In chap. 73 the secular buildings in the citadel and its immediate neighbourhood are mentioned. In chap. 78 follow the monastic foundations joining it on the north. The Ājāhana-pariveya is therefore probably the group of buildings lying outside of the city which is now popularly but wrongly called the Jetavana-nāma.

<sup>3</sup> To the group of buildings which we assume formed the Ājāhana-pariveya there belonged in fact several stūpas. The largest of these is popularly known as the Kiri-vehera. More to south lies the Bankot Dugoba. This has, however, nothing to do with the Ājāhana-pariveya.

54 and halls<sup>1</sup> — the name of Lankūtilaka was befitting<sup>2</sup>. In this (temple) he had erected a standing image which was an elixir for the eyes<sup>3</sup>, which had the size of the living Buddha<sup>4</sup>,  
 55 which (likewise) was called Lankūtilaka. (He) also (built) the twelve-storeyed Uposatha-house which bore the name of Baddhasimūpāsūda, which was furnished with numbers of  
 56 turrets, with buildings containing apartments and halls and with cells as dwelling-places<sup>5</sup>. To determine the boundary<sup>6</sup>

sent is identical with the *hatanūvāli-utthi* built or completed by Nissanka Malla (80, 20). The Mhs. expressly states that this King adorned it with a *surappārthikā*, "with a golden pointed cone". The name *Rankot* means "golden point".

<sup>1</sup> The buildings form the immediate surroundings of the temple enriching its beauty.

<sup>2</sup> The name still sticks to the image house of the Alabana group. It is proved besides by an inscription on the building itself in which Parakkamabahu is named as its builder. See H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASG. 1910—11 (= X. 1914), p. 20 ff. Lately an exact description of the plan of the building has been given by A. M. Hooper, Mem. ASG. II, 1926, p. 11 ff. This plan agrees on the whole with that of the Thūpāranya (see above note to v. 45). As regards the name of the temple, *tilaka* means "a patch of coloured stuff worn on the forehead as ornament... or as emblem of a sect" (BL); at the end of a compound it means "ornament of something", here therefore "ornament of the Island of LANKĀ". — The construction of the sentence is as follows: *yattha* in v. 58a stands for the loc. *gāndhi* (*pañcāñghe*) and to this then belong the locatives *gāpini* and *satthi* in v. 52.

<sup>3</sup> See above note to v. 49.

<sup>4</sup> According to Bell's regulation (I. 1, p. 50) the statue in the Lankūtilaka temple when intact, measured 41 ft. in height (roughly 12.5 m.).

<sup>5</sup> It is generally supposed that the remains of this building are to be found in the so-called "priory" situated in the domain of Alabana-puravā and remarkable for its quantity of small and narrow cells (*pañcāñgala* "cage"!). Cf. H. C. P. Bell, Rep. ASG. 1911—12 (= II. 1912), p. 81 ff.

<sup>6</sup> P. *baññhāpēsaya tabhītā sāmā*. By *sāmā* is meant the boundary line enclosing the monastic buildings within which alone ecclesiastical acts could legally be performed. The regulations for establishing such a *sāmā* are to be found in the *Vinaya*, *Mahāvagga* 2, 6 ff. (= L 106 ff.). Cf. with our passage Mhs., 15, 188—194, where it is related of King

there the King betook himself, adorned with all his ornaments, with the dignitaries and the ladies of the court, with a vast army and with his train in the splendour of the King of the gods, to the great vihāra. At the invitation of the Great community of whom Mahākassapa was the oldest, the Monarch — with the tune of songs of praise, with the sound of musical instruments and the noise of the shouts of greeting filling the four regions of the heavens, surrounded by many people bearing golden and other jars and baskets and many banners and umbrellas — took with great solemnity the golden plough before which was harnessed the elephant of state and went forth ploughing the furrow<sup>1</sup>. To remove<sup>2</sup> all scruples regarding landmarks formerly drawn at this spot, the bhikkhu community took up a position at different points, after previously by a solemn act, bound to bring full success, removing in due order the ancient landmarks<sup>3</sup> and made known to the King the landmarks along the furrow (which he ploughed). The King drew three partial boundaries and a main boundary. The boundary stones set up in the eight regions of the heavens, east and so forth, were distant (measured) with a staff five cubits in length<sup>4</sup> from the Lankātilaka temple forty-

Devānampiyatissa how he draws in person the sīvā of the Mūhūribūra, just as Parakkamabahu that of the Aññanaparivasa. The two descriptions have a considerable resemblance to each other even in the wording (cf. 78. 56-7 with 15. 169; 78. 68 with App. B, v. 6 of my edition of the old Mahāvansā). This may be due either to the stereotyped character of all these descriptions or to Dharmakitti's conscious borrowing from the older work.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *mahākassapuṇhi vettente . . . posante khāsiyi agū with, uññata chayapūjāyāt kāmata khāsiyo agū* in Mhv. App. B. (to 15. 191), v. 7 ed. This comparison shows that *uññata* not *uññāvamē*, is the right reading.

<sup>2</sup> It was strictly forbidden to encroach on an existing boundary by a new one. The old boundary had first to be removed by a *kāmavāda* (v. 62 d), that is a solemn act of the community. Cf. note to 37. 56.

<sup>3</sup> I think that the two lines of v. 62 should be reversed.

<sup>4</sup> P. *pañcāhatthaya gatthiyā*. For *hattha* see note to 37. 172. The standard of measurement had thus a length of 6 x 18 in. roughly

four, forty-nine, thirty-eight, thirty-six, thirty-five, fifty-seven, 66 forty-five, sixty-six staves respectively. The boundary stone set up in the southern region of the heavens was distant from 66 the Gopāla rock<sup>1</sup> fifty-eight staves<sup>2</sup>, and the boundary stone that was set up in the northern region of the heavens, was 67 fifty staves from the Vījjalihara cave<sup>3</sup>. These stones served for the marking of the main boundary. At the Badhīnāmū-  
pāśāda there was a fixed boundary of thirty-five staves in 68 length and breadth<sup>4</sup>. At the sacred space called Khayājastū<sup>5</sup> the boundary was fixed at fifteen staves in length and six 69 staves in breadth<sup>6</sup>, and at the pāśāda of the thera the fixed boundary was eighteen cubits in length and twenty cubits in 70 breadth<sup>7</sup>. This vibūra the King dedicated to the bhikkhus along with the (necessary) articles of use.

In the same way the Ruler of men had the foundations

7½ ft. (= 2.55 m.). The distances were thus successively 330, 307½, 286, 270, 262½, 247½, 337½, 405 ft.<sup>8</sup> Cf. for this A. N. HUCER, Mem. ASG. II, 1926, p. 6-7. By "main boundary" (*mahāstūpa*) is meant that enclosing the whole of the buildings belonging to the Ājāhana-priyevā. Inside this there were according to 67 c. to 69, three smaller sections which were marked off by "wall-boundaries" or "part-boundaries" (*khayājastū*). This distinction corresponds to the description of the fixing of the boundary of the Mahāvihāra, Mhv. 10, 183 which speaks of *visāraṇī* "boundary marks" pure and simple and *visāraṇīmūti* "inner boundary marks".

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the rock lying between the Badhīnāmū-pāśāda and the Runkot stūpa. According to the popular idea the chasm served as an abode for those bhikkhus who wished to give themselves up to meditation.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore 480 ft.

<sup>3</sup> That is 875 ft. from what is now called the Gal-vihāra. Cf. below note to v. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Therefore 262½ ft. > 262½ ft.

<sup>5</sup> Just as the main building took its name from the fixing of the main boundary (*badhī*) *stūpa* so one of the sub-sections from that of the sub- or part-boundary.

<sup>6</sup> Therefore 112½ ft. > 45 ft.

<sup>7</sup> Thus with the cubit (*hattha*) calculated at 18 in. only about 27 ft. > about 30 ft.

laid of the *Pacchimāśāma*<sup>1</sup>. Here in the *pariveyas*, which 71 were twenty-two in number (there were) just as many two-storeyed long *pāśas* and twenty fire-houses, forty-one 72 two-storeyed small *pāśas* as well as thirty-five privies and 73 two cloisters; one sermon hall and ten gate-buildings. He dedicated this *vihāra* along with the (necessary) articles of use also to the bhikkhus.

Likewise the Ruler of men had the *Uttarārūpa*<sup>2</sup> built. By 74 breaking down the rock not far from the Great *thūpa* he bringing into play every kind of skilled work, had three 75 grottoes made by expert craftsmen, namely the *Vijālāvara* grotto, the cave with the image in sitting posture and the grotto with the recumbent image.

The Ruler also had the *Mahāthūpa*<sup>3</sup> erected which bore 76 the name of the *Dānatāthūpa* because it had been built by

<sup>1</sup> The "West Monastery". DUCAN (Mem. ASC. II, p. 6) supposes this building to be the unexcavated ruins adjoining the remains of the *Ālāhana-pariveya* on the west.

<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt that what is meant is the so-called *Gal-veherā*. The front of a rock rising about 30 ft. above the surrounding region is polished. It stretches from SW. to NE. gradually sloping away on either side. The rock is about 16 chains (roughly 320 m.) distant from the Great *thūpa* situated further north. Hewn out of the rock wall just about its centre, is a grotto, 26 ft. wide, 12 ft. 9 in. deep and 9 ft. 9 in. in height. The massive rock above the cave is still some 12 to 13 ft. thick. This rock ceiling is supported on two pillars on the front side of the cave. In the background of the cave there is an image of the Buddha sitting on a throne. This cave is the *Vijālāvara* of our passage. To the left of it from the spectator's point of view, there is the figure of a sitting Buddha 15 ft. high, hewn out of the solid rock. To the right, also hewn out of the solid rock, there is a colossal figure of a recumbent Buddha about 49 ft. long, at its head the upright figure of Ananda grieving over his dying master. It is probable that both the statues of the sitting and of the recumbent Buddha were originally contained in a grotto or niche made of rock and brickwork. These were the *śivāṇapūjāmūra* and the *śivāṇapu-*  
*ṣṭiṇḍugūra*. These figures now stand uncovered in the open air. For the whole matter cf. H. C. P. BHAN., Rep. ASC. 1907 (= Y. 1911), p. 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The "Great stupa" evidently borrowed its name from the *Mahā-*  
*thūpa* (Stupavell Dāgobā) in *Asurādhupura*. In its present state it is

77 Damilas who had been brought hither after the conquest of the Payju kingdom. It had a circumference of one thousand three hundred cubits<sup>1</sup> and was the largest of all thūpas, like to 78 a second Kelēsa<sup>2</sup>, and (built) without the miraculous power of arahants and without the miraculous power of the gods, alone by kingly miraculous power.

79 Also he had built in the suburb called Rājavesibhujanāga the Isipatann-vihāra<sup>3</sup> which was a delight for the ascetics. 80 There (there was) one relic shrine and three three-storeyed image houses with costly images and resplendent with brightly 81 coloured painting, further a two-storeyed pāsāda whose ornaments called forth delight, two long pāsādas and four gate- 82 buildings, eight small pāsādas, a sermon house, a cloister as 83 well as eight fire-houses and six privies, a fine bathing-house wholly of stone, a boundary wall and a garden which belonged to the bhikkhu community.

84 Furthermore in the suburb of Sīhapura the Ruler (gifted) 85 with a lion's courage had the Kusināra-vihāra erected. There 86 (there was) a relic shrine, three image houses of three storeys, 87 six long pāsādas, a sermon hall, a cloister, sixteen small pāsādas, three gate-buildings, eleven privies and six fire-houses.

87 In the suburb called Vijita King Parakkamabahu also

a great heap of ruins overgrown with jungle, looking like a natural hill over which run the paths of the wild elephant. The name of Damilathūpa has been preserved to the present day in the name Dāmujuññahāsaya which is however, erroneously given to another building (see note to v. 87).

<sup>1</sup> P. rotana = hattus = roughly 18 inches (according to Fleet, JRAS, 1912, p. 237). The circumference was therefore roughly 1950 ft. The circumference of the Mihāthūpa in Anurādhapura is 925 ft. (Parker, Ancient Ceylon, p. 286, 200), that of the Abhayagiri 1115 ft.

<sup>2</sup> See note to 48. 41.

<sup>3</sup> For the three suburbs and their monasteries cf. the earlier account in 73, 165-6. It does not quite agree with ours. If we follow it, the monasteries would be distributed thus: Rājavesibhujāga; Vejorāma—Rājakkalataka (= Sīhapura); Isipatāna—Vijita; Kusināra, so far as importance can be attached to the order in which they are given.

built the *Veluvana-vihāra*<sup>1</sup>. Therein (there were) three three-storeyed image houses with beautiful images, gleaming with brightly coloured paintings, a *thūpa* and a cloister, a two-storeyed *pāsāda*, four gate-buildings, four long *pāsādas* and eight small *pāsādas*, one refectory and one sermon hall, further seven fire-houses and twelve privies. Gāvata on gāvuta<sup>2</sup> (along the road) the Ruler of men had *vihāras*<sup>3</sup> erected, furnished with charming image temples, with gate-buildings, outer walls and sermon halls. For such bhikkhus as loved solitude and had taken upon them the whole of the duties of the ascetic, he built the *Kapila-vihāra* built as a good abode. There (there was) a costly two-storeyed *pāsāda*, four long cloisters and four long two-storeyed *pāsādas*, further a dwelling-house of brick with diverse coloured painting and adorned with turrets, built in honour of the sage *Kapila*, four small *pāsādas* and three privies. Also these *vihāras* he dedicated along with the (necessary) articles of use to the bhikkhus.

Now in order to rebuild the *vihāras* in *Anurādhapura* formerly destroyed by the *Damilas* and which many kings had not restored because it was so difficult, he sent an official and completed the three *thūpas* aforesome destroyed by the *Damilas*, the *Ratnayālaka-thūpa*<sup>4</sup> one hundred and twenty

<sup>1</sup> Some distance to the north of the Great *thūpa* there lies an image temple similar in plan to the *Thūpārāma* and the *Lankātilaka*, famous for the fresco paintings on its inner walls. I was told there that the priests frequently called this temple the *Veluvana*. If one could trust this tradition we should have a clue to the position of the *Vijita* suburb. See however, A. M. Beaufort's objections, Mem. ASI, II, 1936, p. 6. He calls the structure "the Noether Temple". The popular name of the building is *Devañjumakusen* which however originally must have belonged to the *Mahāthūpa* or *Damilabūpa*. I am also inclined to regard the *Potgal-vihāra* situated to the south of the city, as one of the subtribe monasteries of *Pulathinaguru*. According to an inscription discovered there (Wijesemasinghe, EZ, II, 239ff.) it was originally built by *Prakhanabha*, and it would be curious if such an important structure were not to be mentioned at all in the *Mbva*. Cf. on the subject H. C. P. Beaufort, Rep. ASC, 1936 — XX, 1940, p. 14ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for this 73, 161 f. and note.

<sup>3</sup> Lit.: *Gāvuta-vihāras*.

<sup>4</sup> = *Mahāthūpa*. Cf. note to 76, 194. There are four *thūpas* mentioned

98 cubits high, the Jetavanna-thūpa one hundred and forty cubits high, the Abhayangiri-thūpa one hundred and sixty cubits high, 99 as well as the great Maricavatī-thūpa<sup>1</sup> eighty cubits high. These 100 were (all) overgrown with great trees, bears and panthers dwelt there and the ground of the jungle scarce offered a 101 foothold by reason of the heaps of bricks and earth. After having the forest hewn down and (the thūpas) built in the proper fashion, and faced with stucco, he also cleared the courtyard of the cetiya.

102 The Lohapāsāda destroyed by the Cols — which measured in every direction one hundred cubits<sup>2</sup>, one hundred in length and breadth<sup>3</sup> and as much in height, which was adorned with 103 many hundreds of apartments, with fine turrets and with rows 104 of cells<sup>4</sup> and which had several storeys, whose embellishment 105 called forth admiration — the Ruler of men restored by raising 106 again its thousand and six hundred pillars<sup>5</sup>. Sixty large 107 pāsādās (like) the one named Sepavvūpupphā, as also the 108 destroyed pāsāda called Mahindasena he had renewed, also boundary walls and numbers of pariveṇus, and after erecting a house for alms he celebrated a great festival for the offering 109 of alms. In the ancient pariveṇus, the Thupārūpas and others, he saw to the restoration of whatever was decayed or had

ed in the test, not three, and it looks as if the Maricavatī had been added later.

<sup>1</sup> Taking the four stupas in the order of their size (cf. above note to v. 77) we have for the Abhayangiri 240 ft., for the Jetavanna 210 ft., for the Mahāthūpa 180 ft. and for the Maricavatī 120 ft. According to Sāriputra, Architectural Remains of Anurādhapura, p. 52, 47, 27 in his time the height of the three first stupas lying in ruins were: 1) Abhayangiri (wrongly called Jetavanna by Sāri.) 215 ft., 2) Jetavanna (by Sāri.) Abhayangiri) 232 ft., 3) Ruruavell (= Mahāthūpa) 118 ft. The Maricavatī-thūpa re-erected then (p. 26) over 80 ft. It is now restored.

<sup>2</sup> = 150 ft. The surface area of the Lohapāsāda is in reality rather more than 251 x 282 ft. as is proved by the pillars still standing in the basement. P. M. He交kett, The Buried Cities of Ceylon, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> So I understand *hetthāvattikākara* in contrast to *nevari* *hetthāvati*.

<sup>4</sup> P. *nikapāñjhāra* "Lion's cage". The cells of the *Buddhāsīmā-pāsāda* are also called *pyājāra* in v. 56.

<sup>5</sup> That is in fact the number of the foundation pillars still standing.

fallen in. On the Cetiyagiri<sup>1</sup> he had sixty-four thūpas rebuilt 108 and had restored on the old buildings whatever was decayed or had fallen in.

What sensible man when he has thus realised that the 109 pure-minded, even if they live in the greatest happiness, find their supremest bliss in meritorious works — would grow weary in the works of virtue which procure every happiness in the world?

Here ends the seventy-eighth chapter, called «The Building of Vihāras», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The Mihintale mountain. See note to SE. 76.



## Chapter LXXIX

## THE LAYING OUT OF GARDENS AND THE LIKE

1 As the King wished to make all articles (of food) needed by the townspeople easily attainable, he laid out gardens at 2 different places. He who was the delight of his subjects, laid out the garden called Nandana which was adorned with 3 hundreds of trees bearing fruit and blossom. The King planted coco palms, mango and bread-fruit, trees, areca and Palmyra 4 palms and other trees, a hundred thousand of each kind and laid out in this way with great pains a large garden destined for the community, which because the name was appropriate, 5 was known generally as the Lakkhuyyāna. For the bathing of the bhikkhus in the hot season he had two charming ponds 6 made there beneath hollow rocks. The Monarch also laid out the Dipuyyāna<sup>1</sup> resplendent in beauty which was to be glorified 7 by his own continual presence during the day; further the Mahāneghavānuyyāna, the Cittalatārana, the garden called 8 Missaka and that called Rūjumānuyyāna; the garden called Laubātilaka and the garden called Tilokanandana, that called Vā- 9 narākara and that called Nayauussava; the garden Manohara by name and the Nimmipāpa, the Jaṅghabhāra and the 10 Paṇṇavaddhama by name; the garden of the name of Saṃ- sūrphala and that called Phūrusaka, that called Salipeta and 11 that called Somāśātha; the Thānakotkaya and the Uttarakuru by name, that called Bharukaccha and that called Pulacceri; 12 the gardens called Kūjakara, Pañjarāvana and Rāmīssava, as well as the Saṃisuplosuyyāna, the Cintāmaṇuyyāna and the Paçaruyyāna.

<sup>1</sup> See above 73. 96 ff. 112 ff.

In Rajaratha the King had ninety-nine new thūpas built 13 in many villages and market towns. On seventy-three relic 14 shrines the Ruler<sup>1</sup> had what was decayed or fallen in repaired and the coating renewed. He restored six thousand 15 one hundred decayed image houses and built three hundred new image houses. He had four hundred and seventy-six 16 divers kinds of images made and ninety-one Bodhi Trees planted. For the community hailing from the four regions of the 17 heavens he had built as an abode for them when coming and going two hundred and thirty dwellings. He erected fifty-six 18 sermon halls, nine cloisters, as well as one hundred and forty-four gate-buildings; one hundred and ninety-two chapels with 19 altars for flowers, sixty-seven outer walls and thirteen temples for the gods<sup>2</sup>. For the bhikkhus coming from foreign lands 20 he had twelve parks (laid out) and two hundred and thirty rest-houses<sup>3</sup> built. Further the Ruler saw to the restoration 21 of twenty-nine sermon halls, thirty-one grottoes and five parks; 22 likewise of fifty-one rest-houses and of seventy-nine decayed temples to the gods.

To put away the sufferings of famine from living creatures 23 that most excellent of men had many tanks and canals made in divers places. By damming up the Kāragaṅgā by a great 24 barrier between the hills<sup>4</sup> and bringing its mighty flood of waters hither by means of a vast canal called the Akāsagnāgā<sup>5</sup>, 25 the Ruler created that king of reservoirs continually filled with water and known by the name of Parakkamansamudra<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P. *devatāya*, thus sanctuaries for Hindu deities. Numerous temples to Viṣṇu and Śiva were discovered in Polonnaruwa.

<sup>2</sup> P. *gṛihālakṣmī* "house for (host) for strangers".

<sup>3</sup> So I understand *mālādā yātīśānam*. Wt. translation "stone wall" I consider impossible, since "yāti" is always "mountain" never "stone".

<sup>4</sup> Skr. *Āśānagāṅga*, name of the Ganges river which is conceived as bowing in space until it descends to earth.

<sup>5</sup> The Parakkamansamudra mentioned here is different from the reservoir of the same name named in 48. 40. This as we saw (note to the passage) is situated in Dakkhinadesa and was formerly known as Pāṇḍavāḍī the corresponding name for which is now Pundarīka. The Parakkamansamudra of 79. 26, which belongs to the river system of the

in which there was an island resplendent with a superb royal 27 palace and which was like to a second ocean. He also built the great tank Parakkamatalāka with a sluice<sup>1</sup> of a hundred 28 cubits<sup>2</sup>, and which was made fast<sup>3</sup> by stone construction. Further the Ruler of men built the Mahindatāla<sup>4</sup> and the Ekāharavī

Kānagangū, is described in more detail in v. 40 ff. A canal starting from it waters the Mātūmegu park. In 70.7 this park is named immediately after the Dīpavijjū in Puhattinagama among the parks laid out by Parakkamabahu I. A sluice of the reservoir was situated according to v. 46 near the Cāndī gate. This name appears in 73.161 among the gates of Puhattinagama. One must therefore look for the Parakkamasānulā of 79.26 at Edumātaruva and it is evidently identical with the Tāpāvāna. This was formerly far more extensive than now and was connected with the Durubutulavēna situated farther south. See on the whole subject A. M. Hoear CJSc. G I. p. 161. In 79.67a Parakkamasāgama is mentioned. As it was also connected with the Kānagangū, its name is probably merely a variant of Parakkamasānulā. But in v. 29 c Parakkamasāgama is mentioned along with the Parakkamasānulā and next to a Parakkamatalāka. It is therefore possible that there were more than two reservoirs called after the King.

<sup>1</sup> That *psāyī* means the sluice or the outflow from the tank is clear from v. 42, 43. The *psātī*, the water canals (ruled off now in 8 sub.) start from the *psāyī*. In Skr. *psāyī* or *psāyī* means according to BR. a "drainage canal". The term *psāyī* is explained by the construction of the sluices of the old tanks in Ceylon, as described by Pāṇini (Ancient Ceylon, p. 373 ff.). They consist of a walled culvert of about 2-4 ft. in breadth which runs across the whole dam, and is only slightly raised above the base of the dam. To this culvert there leads on the slightly sloping inner side of the dam a square shaft also walled in. This is called in Sinhalese *biṇ-bāyā*. The shaft serves for regulating the wooden upparasas (p. 373c "lock", see v. 69 with note) by the raising and dropping of which the culvert is wholly or partially closed or opened and thus the outflow of the water regulated or completely shut off. The shaft with the lock thus divides the culvert into an inflow and an outflow channel.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore about 160 ft. The number can only apply to the length of the culvert.

<sup>3</sup> p. *dugga*. I believe that here we must take the adjective in the meaning of "sure, fast" which has developed out of the meaning "difficult of access". In the same way the substantive *dugga* (originally "a place difficult of access") has become "a strong place", then a "fortress".

<sup>4</sup> A Mahindatāla was already mentioned in 42.29 as a work of

tank, as well as the Parakkamasūgata whose flood-escape was walled up<sup>1</sup>; also small tanks at different places a thousand 29 four hundred and seventy-one (in number). At three hundred 30 tanks the Monarch had as many stone sluices built. Ancient 31 tanks which had burst he again dammed up in great number: the great tank Mayihira, the Mahādūragaṇḍaka, the tank called 32 Suvaṇṇatissa and that called Dūratissa, the Kalavāpi tank and the one Brūhmaṇaṭṭa by name, the tanks called Nisikera- 33 mahāṭṭambha, Rabera, Giriṭaṭṭa and Kumbhīla-sobha; the 34 Kāyaṭṭapi, Padīvāpi and the tank called Kaṭi, the Paliṭapāṭṭayaṭṭapi and the tank called Mahayūha; the tanks with the names 35 Mahānāma-nathaka, Vajjhāna, Mahādutta and Kāyagāma; the tanks Vira, Vatāhassa and Suramīna and the tanks called 36 Pāṭṭagāma and Kalavallī; the tank by name Kūṭallī and 37 that called Aṅgagāma, the Hillapattakakhaṇḍa and the Madiṇī<sup>2</sup>.

Aggabodhi I. If the Mahinduṭṭa is identical with this, it can only have been a restoration.

<sup>1</sup> *P. kāṭṭambha-baṇḍha*. By *niḍhaṇa* (signified "waterfall") are meant the flood escapes or "waste-weirs" (Praek 1. 1, p. 374) serving for the overflow of the water when the reservoir is too full. The *weir* of the Parakkamasūgata is walled in (*baṇḍha*). Note that in Sri. Kosṭha may also mean an enclosing wall, and on the other hand that the corresponding Sīhabhūṣa word *baṇḍha* (see above v. 27 note) is also used in connection with waterworks. In Mhv. 48. 16 *Koṭṭabhūḍha* is the name of a causeway on the Jagganāthī.

<sup>2</sup> Of the tanks enumerated here six (Vajjhāna, Mahānāmaṭṭa, Mahādutta, Kumbhīla-sobha, Paliṭapāṭṭayaṭṭa and Kāyaṭṭa) are mentioned in 60. 60 as having been restored by Vijayabahu I. Cf. note to the passage. The Maghīta is the work of Mahāsena (Mhv. 37. 47), likewise the Suvaṇṇatissa (Wickremasuriya, EZ. II. 28, called Rantissa in the Mediugiriya inscr.) and the Mahādūragaṇḍaka (37. 47); the Dūratissa, one of Sudhītīsena (Mhv. 33. 9); the Giriṭaṭṭa, one of Aggabodhi II. (42. 37; cf. note to 7b. 312). Rabera is frequently mentioned now as locality, now as mountain apparently situated not far from Anurādhapura, (Mhv. 21. 5; 41. 43; 44. 7); also as an irrigation canal (41. 31). Kāyagāma was a place in Rohana (15. 49) and Hillapattakakhaṇḍa is in 72. 41 the name of a ford of the Mahāvīgūpa. The remaining names occur only in this passage. Of these Padīvāpi (v. 30) might be identical with the Padārīya tank in the north-east corner of the North Central Province, 40 miles from Anurādhapura. Cf. WICKREMASURIYA, EZ. I. 202.

36 These decayed tanks the Ruler had restored to their original state and in the same way four hundred and sixty-seven small  
 37 tanks which had been destroyed. In many tanks the King  
 38 well aware of the right moment, had breaches (a total of)  
 39 one thousand three hundred and ninety-five (in number)  
 40 dammed up so that they were firm again. The King also  
 41 had a canal constructed, called *Gambhīrā* (the deep), which  
 42 started at the flood-escape called *Makara* of the *Purakkamā-*  
 43 *sāmudda*. (He also constructed) the great canal by name  
 44 *Hemavati* which branched off from the same (tank) in  
 45 the direction of the *Mubāseghatana*; in the same way  
 46 the canal known by the name of *Nīlāvatī* which started  
 47 from the sluice called *Mālatīpuppha* of the same (tank) and  
 48 the canal *Sulāvatī* by name which branched off from the  
 49 *Kilākarnyāna* sluice; further the great canal called *Vettavati*  
 50 which took its start from the sluice known by the name of  
 51 *Vettavati*; the canal *Tungabhadra* coming from the *Dakkhina*  
 52 sluice and the canal *Māngalagangī* which branched off from  
 53 the sluice called *Māngala*, as well as the canal called *Gāmpā*  
 54 from the sluice near the *Cayyī* gate. (He built) also the  
 55 *Saravatt* (canal) which branched off from the *Tayavūpi* and  
 56 led to *Poggavaddhanavīpi* and the *Veṇuvīpi* (canal) from its  
 57 western side; further the (canal) *Yāvāna* which branched off  
 58 from the *Poggavaddhana* tank to the west and the *Sarabha*  
 59 (canal) which ran northwards; also the canal called *Candabhiṅgī*  
 60 which flowed through the centre of the *Lakkhuyāna*, and the *Nāmāṇḍī* (canal) which branched off in the domain of the  
 61 *Jetavana-vihāra*; further the canal named *Nerajārī* which  
 62 flowed from that tank in a northerly direction, and the  
 63 *Bhagirathi*, which started from the *Andatta* tank; as also the (canal) called *Āvatiṅgī* which branched off from there  
 64 to the south and the *Taṅbapāṇī* (canal) which flowed from  
 65 the *Ambāla* tank towards the north; the *Aeiravati* (canal)  
 66 which ran westwards from the *Mahāvālukagangī*, fitted for  
 67 many a long year to prevent famine, and the *Gomati* (canal)  
 68 which branching off from there flowed eastwards, and the  
 69 *Mālāpharayī* (canal) running northwards; also the canals

flowing eastwards from the Aciravati: the Satarudhrī, Nibbindī, Dhavalā and Sīdā; further the Kālīndī canal which flowed 54 in a southerly direction from the southern overflow of the vast Mayihira tank; as also the canal called Kāverī which 55 flowed from the Girītālīka tank to the Kādīravādīhamāna tank, and the Somavati canal running from the Kāthūra- 56 rādīhamāna tank to the Arimaddavijñayaggāma (tank). The 57 Monarch also constructed the Godāvarī canal which branched off from the Kāragaṅgā and flowed to the Pānkkamasāgāma.<sup>1</sup> (Lastly) the Prince had the ruined canal called Jayangāgā<sup>2</sup> 58 restored. It branched off from the Kālavāpi and flowed to Anurādhapura. Five hundred and thirty-four small canals he 59 had constructed and three thousand three hundred which had been destroyed he restored to what they had been before. In 60 the province of the Yuvarāja (Dukkhipādesa) the discerning Sovereign had numerous works of various kinds constructed 61 at numbers of places. On the site of the house where he was

<sup>1</sup> The names mentioned in vv. 40-57 show how strong was the tendency to call new buildings and the like after ancient and sacred places. Mahānagharāma and Jetavāma are of course called respectively after the park and the monastery in Anurādhapura. Hemavati is the skr. *Hemavatī*, a name of the Ganges. Sarasvatī and Yamunā are well known rivers in Northern India. Vetravati is a tributary of the Yamunā, now called Beira. Kālīndī (v. 64) is a frequent name for the Yamunā (see IR. s. v.). Nānundī is the skr. *Nārendī*, now the Nerbuddā whose valley bounds the Vindhya mountains in the south. Tuṅghāndī is the name of a river in the Dekkan. Likewise Kāverī, Gedūvari and quite in the south in Tiruvallī, the Tirupurāt. The Bhagirathī (v. 49) is the name of one of the sources of the Ganges, and the Gomati is a left tributary of the same stream. The Ajiravati is so named after a river which flows past. Sīrathī = skr. *Śīravatī*, now the Raptī. The Nārāñjari is called after the river at the sacred place where Budhīn received Enlightenment (Dīrghakāma, Budhī, p. 129). Campā (v. 48) is the name of an old Indian town in Araga near the present Bhagalpur in Bengal. Candrābhrī, Āśānī, Veṣyāntī are Indian river names (IR. s. v.). Nīlāñjūdī (v. 68) corresponds perhaps to the Nirvindhyā named in Meghadūta 28. Aśotthī (v. 49) which was situated in the country of the mythical Uttarakōras was made sacred according to Vin. I. 28<sup>2</sup> by a visit of the Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> Now Yedi Ela.

born in Purukhagāma<sup>1</sup> he erected the Sutighara-cetiya one hundred and twenty cubits high. He had twenty-two relic shrines erected, thirty-seven Bodhi Trees (planted), one hundred image houses, fifteen caves, twenty-one dwellings for the community in the four regions of the heavens and eighty-seven rest-houses for strangers. He put up chapels with altars for flowers, twenty-nine in number, seven sermon halls as well as five outer walls and forty-three images of divers kinds. He restored twenty-four ruined image houses. The Mahāgallaka tank<sup>2</sup> and the Tālagallaka tank, the Hājini<sup>3</sup> weir<sup>4</sup>, the weir called Telapakka, the weir on the Jajjārū<sup>5</sup> and the Vilattāklinga (weir) the Monarch made fast for the flourishing of the harvest in the land. Three hundred and fifty-eight damaged places in tanks and the stone sluices on thirteen tanks as well as one hundred and sixty locks<sup>6</sup> and small tanks which were damaged, thirty-seven in number — these the Monarch had repaired.

70 Also in the province of Rohaya the King who had delight in meritorious works, had divers buildings erected in villages and market towns. On the site of his mother's pyre in Kharugāma<sup>7</sup> the Monarch (erected) the Ratanāvali-cetiya, one hundred and twenty cubits<sup>8</sup> in height. Further (he founded) sixteen

<sup>1</sup> See note to 61.26. The height of the tepe was roughly 180 ft.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mhv. 68.84 and 49.

<sup>3</sup> P. *nījhara*. See note to v. 28. What is here called *nījhara* is probably the same as *ratnāvali* Mhv. 48. 148; 68. 95, 97.

<sup>4</sup> Probably an allusion to the great irrigation works described in Mhv. 68. 16 ff. which needed repair. In the case of a river *nījhara* means the dam (veta) built in it through which a part of the water is conducted into a lateral canal. If the river has a large volume of water, it flows over the dam and forms a "fall" like the flood-escape in a tank.

<sup>5</sup> P. *duruge*. I believe this is meant for the shafts and the apparatus for regulating the outflow of the water at the sluices (see note 1 to v. 27).

<sup>6</sup> See note to 54. 163.

<sup>7</sup> That is 180 ft. The size (Mgāma) probably refers to the height. According to H. W. Codrington (letter of 1-4-26), the measurement of the tepe of Budnikunsham gave a circumference of 926 ft. which would in fact give a height of about 180 ft.

relic shrines, seven Bodhi Trees and also vast Bodhi temples and seventy Bodhi Tree terraces<sup>1</sup> and two-storeyed image houses forty-three in number, two sermon halls and seventy-five images, thirty-seven dwellings for the community from the four regions of the heavens, forty-seven outer walls and twenty gate-buildings; also fifty-nine rest-houses for guests, four parks and three statues of the Mettāyya. After the Sovereign had then built five dancing-halls, he had everything here and there which was broken down and decayed restored. Thirty-seven thūpas, twenty-two Bodhi Tree terraces, two hundred and seventy-four large image houses, one relic temple, seven temples for images in recumbent posture, forty caves and four brick houses; four long pāsādas, and six three-storeyed pāsādas, twenty-nine sermon halls and three cloisters, one hundred and twenty-six dwelling-houses, one hundred and twenty-eight houses for books and four rest-houses for guests, twenty-four temples to the gods, one hundred and three tower-gates, one hundred and twenty-six outer walls these all the Sovereign had restored. The Ruler also made fast two hundred and sixteen leaking tanks belonging to the community, like the great Uruvēla tank and the Pandukolamba tank and others, further eighteen decayed sluice locks and two hundred and five ruined small tanks. On ten tanks he repaired the stone sluices and here and there he had forty-four canals dug<sup>2</sup>.

By constructing in this way beautiful vihāras, gardens, tanks and the like he adorned with these numerous (works) the whole of Laṅkā.

Thus Parakkamabāhu, the Ruler of men, by whom were performed divers and numerous kinds of meritorious works, who continually found the highest satisfaction in the teaching

<sup>1</sup> P. *badhibhūthaka*. Here also *bhūthaka* (see above note to v. 28) is used in the sense of walling up. It is a usual custom to surround the sacred trees with a terrace, even if it consist merely of stones heaped together.

<sup>2</sup> This verse ends the first continuation of the *Mahāvagga* ascribed to Dhammakkitti. See my edition of the *Gāthavagga* I. Introd. p. III.

of the Master, who was endowed with extraordinary energy and discernment, carried on the government for thirty-three years<sup>1</sup>.

Here ends the seventy-ninth chapter, called «The Laying out of Gardens and the Lakes», in the *Mahâvâiprava*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The same number of years in Pâjâv, and Râjarâtn. Râjâv, 32 years.



CHAPTER LXXX  
THE SIXTEEN KINGS

Thereupon the sister's son of this Great king, the wise 1 poet sovereign King Vijayabâhu<sup>1</sup>, became monarch in Lañkâ. When he had received consecration as king the prudent one 2 in his great mercy released from their misery those dwellers in Lañkâ whom his uncle, the Sovereign Parakkama, had a thrown into prison and tortured with stripes or with fetters. By restoring at different places to various people their village 4 or their field he increased the joyfulness<sup>2</sup> of them all. As 5

<sup>1</sup> In Polonnârûta there is an inscription of Vijayabâhu II. which supplements the account of our chronicle (Wickramasinha EZ. II. 170 ff.). In it he also describes himself as sister's son of Parakkamabâhu. We know three sisters of this king, but I doubt if any of these three was the mother of Vijayabâhu II. Wickramasinha thinks she was Bhaddavati, the wife of Gajahâlu, who would in fact be the most likely. But in TD. 899 (cf. below note to v. 31) we have the distinct statement that Gajahâlu had no son. This is not easy to get over. I am inclined to think that there was a fourth unnamed sister of Parakkamabâhu's married to a Kâliṅga prince. Then it would be intelligible (cf. below, note to v. 18) that Vijayabâhu, the son of this prince and of a sister of Parakkamabâhu, should in his turn, appoint a Kâliṅga prince as his successor, and that the latter should describe him as head of the clan. The inscription relates further that Vijayabâhu was in Siyâlapura, the capital of Kâliṅga, when Parakkama summoned him to Lañkâ. Parakkama's relations with the Kâliṅga dynasty are intelligible. He had himself Kâliṅga blood in his veins through his grandmother Tilokasundari whom Vijayabâhu I. fetched from this dynasty to secure the continuance of his house (Mhv. 59, 29 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Vv. 3 and 4 show Parakkamabâhu in a curious light. According to this account, he was a severe if not cruel ruler, who made his subjects slave that he might gratify his love of splendour. Vijayabâhu II. grants an amnesty at his accession.

Alaka for (the god) Kubera and Amaravati for Sakka, so was 6 Polatthinagara for him the royal city. He himself composed 7 in the Māgadha tongue a most excellent letter, sent it to the monarch living in Arimaddana<sup>1</sup>, concluded with this beloved 8 (prince) a friendly treaty as aforetime his great grandfather 9 Vijayabahu<sup>2</sup>, and (being) highly famed, to increase the joy of 10 the bhikkhus in the land of Lankā and Arimaddana, he made 11 the Order of the Buddha lustrious. As the Ruler departed 12 not from any precept of the political teaching of Manu, he rejoiced 13 the people through the four heart-winning qualities. 14 Endowed with kindness, purity and other virtues, he found 15 his highest satisfaction in the triad of the jewels, Buddha and 16 the like. Of most excellent character he, ever joyous in spirit, 17 provided the bhikkhus with the four articles of use. Manifesting 18 great exertion, he like a wise Bodhisatta, everywhere 19 in every way interested himself in all beings. Shunning the 20 four wrongful paths<sup>3</sup> he in his great insight, practised in the 21 exercise of justice, towards good and evil favour and severity. 22 Thus this Monarch respected by the laity and the Order, performing 23 many meritorious works, carried on the government 24 for one year<sup>4</sup>.

25 Now after a traitor, Mahinda by name, of the Kalinga 26 clan<sup>5</sup>, who had won as his spouse a cowherd's daughter, Di-

<sup>1</sup> The capital of Rāmmata (lower Burma, Pago). Cf. Mhs. 16. 38. We see from this passage that the Māgadha tongue, that is Pāli, was the medium of international intercourse, in the same way as Latin in the Middle Ages.

<sup>2</sup> Vijayabahu I. is called not quite correctly, the grandfather (*jātmaka*) of Vijayabahu II. For his relations with Rāmaṇī see Mhs. 60. 5 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See note to 57. 108.

<sup>4</sup> The same length of reign in the Pūjāv. in which the King's name is given as Paṇḍitavijayabahu. He has the same name in the Nik. and Rājtaru.

<sup>5</sup> W. translates "Mahinda of Kalinga" and gives a wrong colouring to the affair. The MSS. have Kalinga and also the Col. Ed. The clan name of the Kalinga occurs already in Mhs. 19. 2. Pūjāv. calls the sharper Kiliṅkēśa Mihindulipāgo (Kanti is *kesabhaṭṭa*). Itūjantin, and

part by name, had treacherously slain the Monarch, (he) the 16 deluded one without gaining the consent of the generals, of the warriors, of the indignant inhabitants of the country and 17 of the whole of the diguitaries, carried on in most evil fashion the government in Lankā for five days.

After his murder the Uparāja of King Vijayabāhu, born in 18 Kalinga, Kuttinissanka by name<sup>1</sup>, became king. After he had 19 received royal consecration he had built in superb Polathitagara a beautiful temple of stone for the Tooth Relic<sup>2</sup>. He had the 20 lofty Rātanāvalī-cetiya made firm and embellished the splendid

Nikea, Kiliñkesāla, Mihindu, and Rājāv, merely kilinkesāla, 18jāc, and Rājāv, like the Mihis, give him a reign of just five days.

<sup>1</sup> King Nissanka Malla has left many and ample inscriptions. Ed. Müller has edited 15 of them in the AIC (nr. 143 ff.). Wachus-  
mannus 18 in all, EZ. I, 121 ff., II, 70, 81, 91, 96, 123, 125, 128,  
130, 134, 137, 143, 146, 148, 153, 157, 165 ff.<sup>3</sup> Their contents are very  
similar. With regard to his descent we learn (for ex. in the famous  
Galpota inscription in Polonnaruwa, EZ. II, 95 ff.) that he was born in  
the Kalinga country in the town of Singhapura as son of the King  
Jayangopa and the Queen Pārvati. The Great king of Lankā the  
Chief of the clan (kula-jaya) — without doubt Vijayabāhu II. is meant —  
had summoned him thither to take over the government. He had been  
at first prince and viceroy and had then ascended the Throne in virtue  
of the law of succession. This right is frequently stressed in the  
inscriptions and justified by his descent from Vijaya, the first king of  
Lankā. Without doubt this right was much disputed and it looks as if  
the bombastic style of Nissanka Malla's inscriptions had the object of  
increasing the prestige of the new Kalinga dynasty in Ceylon.

<sup>2</sup> In the inscriptions (for ex. Galpota-I., C, line 1) and the Heṇḍādāgē  
portion inscr. I, 10; EZ. II, 90 and 118) Nissanka Malla claims to have  
built the dātudā-gēya, which was named after him, as well as the cātā-  
gēya. This last is evidently the so-called Vatā-dā-gē on the Quadrangle  
which was, however, in reality, a work of Parakkamabāhu I. and pro-  
bably only restored by Nissanka Malla. See note to 78. 11. What the  
dātudā-gēya was and where it was situated is not certain. One is in-  
clined to think first of the Heṇḍādā-gē situated opposite the Vatā-dā-gē.  
That is according to the inscriptions on the building itself, apparently  
a work of Nissanka Malla. But in spite of its traditional title, it was  
probably not a dāgē, a "votive shrine" but an "image house". Cf. the  
note to 78. 39. As dāgē the Sat-mānabā-pūsāda might merit con-  
sideration, unless this is a work of Parakkamabāhu I. (note to 78. 42).

21 structure with a golden point<sup>1</sup>. After building the vihāra<sup>2</sup>  
 adorned with a hundred pūṣālas which bore his name, he  
 made it over to the bhikkhu community and supported it.  
 22 The Jambukola-vihāra resplendent with walls and pillars  
 shimmering in gold and silver, where the floor was of red  
 23 lead and the bricks of the roof were of gold, the wise (Monarch)  
 had rebuilt and placed therein seventy-three golden statues of  
 24 the Master<sup>3</sup>. With the four-membered army the Ruler full  
 of pious devotion, went forth to the Samantukūṭa and performed  
 25 there his devotions<sup>4</sup>, and everywhere on the island of Tambo-  
 patty<sup>5</sup> he had flower gardens and fruit gardens and numbers  
 26 of houses for the community laid down<sup>6</sup>. While in this way

<sup>1</sup> The tower is therefore called even to-day the Rankot-Dāgoba "Golden point dāgoba". It has nothing, however, to do with the Mūhāthīpa in Polosarava with which it is associated in the index to my edition. The Rankot lies to the south of the Alāhāna-parivēga. The height is given in the Galpota inscription C, line 2 as 80 cubits (= 120 ft.). The Rankot-Dāgoba Cul-āvara inscr. (EZ. II. 134 ff.) belongs to the time at which that Dāgoba was built. The expression *hāmāpēti* "has made fast or firm" is, as a rule, employed of the restoration of old buildings.

<sup>2</sup> Not yet identified.

<sup>3</sup> The famous cave temples of Bambl are situated about 47 miles north of Kandy on the road to Anurādhapura. There is an inscription on the rock wall there of Nisātīla Malla (Wressenauers, EZ. I. 121 ff.) in which at the end, he boasts of having constructed or established these caves and of having given them the name of *Surāgatīrūpa*. The 73 statues set up by the king are also mentioned in the Prītidhānakā-*mūlapa* inscr. line 30 (EZ. II. 173).

<sup>4</sup> The inscriptions mention repeatedly the journeys of the King to the sacred places of the Island. Adam's Peak (Sewatulāpūra = Sih. *Sawāsāla*) is expressly mentioned in the inscription on the vestibule wall of the Hāpa-ñū-ge (I. 3 EZ. II. 94).

<sup>5</sup> The ancient name for Ceylon, originally of that part in particular where Vijaya landed. See Mhv. 6. 47, 7. 38 f., 41.

<sup>6</sup> In the inscriptions the King also boasts repeatedly of successful campaigns against the Colas, Pāṇḍyas and other peoples in Southern India. It is almost impossible to disentangle the historical facts from the exaggerations. In the kingdom itself he claims to have increased the prosperity of the people by lightening taxation, by the laying out of gardens and tanks and by a generous giving of alms. He claims also to have reformed the Church. The essential of the fixing of thi

day by day the Ruler accumulated many a merit, he carried on the government for nine years<sup>1</sup> in most excellent fashion.

His son, the King known by the name of Virabāhu<sup>2</sup>, 27 hereupon ruled for one night and then fell into the power of death.

Thereupon the younger brother of that same king Kitti- 28 missāka, King Viññuabāhu<sup>3</sup>, enjoyed the royal dignity for three months. He was slain by the Ruler Coñagāṅga, 29 a sister's son of King Nissāka, who carried on the government for nine months<sup>4</sup>. Thereupon the powerful general Kitti had 30 the eyes of this king put out, deposed him and had the government carried on for three years without mishap<sup>5</sup> by 31 Lalāvatī, the first mahesi of the sovereign Parakkamabāhu.

gāvulas and of the setting up of milestones is interesting (Inscr. of the vestibule wall of the Hetādū-gō, line 12; EZ. II. 94). Mr. H. W. Coomaraswamy has actually discovered a number of such gāvula stones with inscriptions (letter of 1-4-28). They stand along the ancient high road (Mahāgāma-Katupugamai-Bullala-Medagama-Bibile-Mahiyangana).

<sup>1</sup> The same number is Pūjāv. and Rājāv. These and the Itājāratī, ascribe the same merit to Nissāka Malla as the Mhva. The Sinhalese chronicles distinguish like the inscriptions, between the temple of the Tooth Relic and the circular building. The number of the statues set up in the Dambulavihāra is given in the Pūjāv. as 72, in the Itājāratī, as 63.

<sup>2</sup> In the Galpota Inscr. II, line 1-2 (EZ. II. 111) he is called the son of Nissāka Malla. Pūjāv. also mentions that his reign only lasted one night.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned in the inscr. of the vestibule wall of the Hetādū-gō line 13-14 as apū "prince". Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give him the same length of reign as the Mhva.

<sup>4</sup> The same in Pūjāv. In Rājāv. Coñagāṅga is mentioned as the general who carried on the government for three years for Lalāvatī. Kitti is therefore not mentioned at all here.

<sup>5</sup> Pūjāv. like the Mhva., Itājāratī, and Nik.+, enumerates only the names Virabāhu, Viññuabāhu, Coñagāṅga, Lalāvatī without other details. Lalāvatī was the daughter of Srivalabha and Sugalā. Coñagāṅga (in the form of Coñugāṅga and Viññuabāhu (Viññuabāhu)) are named as pātunes (rājaputtū) who lived at the court of Gajabāhu (70, 238), but were not his sons (cf. 70, 339).

32 Thereupon King Sūhasumalla of the race of Okkaka, a  
 33 lion in courage, carried on the government for two years<sup>1</sup>.  
 34 Then having deposed this Monarch, the general Āyasmanta<sup>2</sup>,  
 35 a man of almost unsurpassable courage, a supporter of his  
 36 royal family, prudently had the government carried on with  
 37 wise policy for six months by Kalyāṇavatī, the first mabesi  
 38 of Kittisissañka<sup>3</sup>. This Queen Kalyāṇavatī, who was devoted  
 39 to the Order of the Master, had a vihāra called after her,  
 40 built in the village Paṇṇasālaka by name, for love of the  
 41 village, and assigned it villages, fields, articles of use, slaves,  
 42 gardens and so forth. With her consent, the general Āyasmanta,  
 43 who administered the government in all Lankā, who came of  
 44 the Khandhāvura family, sent the Adhikārin Dera to charming  
 45 Valligāma, had a vihāra erected there<sup>4</sup> and assigned to the  
 46 Great community. He built the pariveya known by his name  
 47 of Satiakularuñjhana<sup>5</sup> and caring for its support, he assigned

<sup>1</sup> Pajāv. the same. In Rājāv. there is only mention of a king of the Okkaka family (without the name) who reigned 9 years. There is an inscription of Sūhasumalla in Polonnaruwa with the exact date of his coming to the throne in the Buddha era (Wickramasuriya, EZ. II, 219 ff), according to which Pajāv has calculated the event as occurring on Wednesday, the 23rd of August, 1200 A. D. (Pajāv, JRAS. 1909, p. 327, 331). This is the first absolutely certain date in the history of Ceylon. See R. Uthupura, JRAS. 1913, p. 516; Wickramasuriya, EZ. I, 123, note 4; II, 220; H. W. Cousens, HC., p. 67, 75.

<sup>2</sup> Pajāv. and Rājāv. call him Klinja Ābō Senavirat. This is the same general who appears in inscriptions as Lakk Vijayasingu Seneti Ābō Senavat Tāvurūtanu (EZ. II, 132, line 10; 226, l. 10). Wickramasuriya EZ. II, 101 shows that probably Āyasmanta is the same as the Kitti mentioned in v. 30 who calls himself in an inscription Lakk Vijayasingu Kit. Seniviyāna and describes himself as the minister of Lakkavatī (E. Müller, A.G. Nr. 15).

<sup>3</sup> Kalyāṇavatī is mentioned in inscriptions of Nissanka Malla (for ex. EZ. II, 94, line 13 and 111, l. 2) under the form Kalyāṇa. A short inscription of hers is also preserved in Ropitāya (EZ. II, 190 ff.) in which she calls herself Kalyāṇavatī. Pajāv. and Rājāv. give her a reign of 6 years. <sup>4</sup> See 80. 90.

<sup>5</sup> That means "furtherer of his royal family". See v. 33. I am now inclined to believe that there and here we should read with W. *śravajitabandhūñjana* (= *śravajīñjana*) not *śrāvīñjana*.

it villages and fields surrounded by parks and the like and which could scarcely be visited by a bad harvest, together with articles of use and slaves male and female. Having 41 scrupulously separated the four castes who had become impure through mixture, he bent on doing good, had a text book compiled which had law as its subject.

Thereupon there reigned for one year<sup>1</sup> a royal prince 42 Dhammāsoka by name, who on coming to the throne was aged three months. The Mahālipūda Anikāga came at the 43 head of a great army from the Cōla kingdom, slew the ruler in Pulathinagara, Prince Dhammāsoka, together with the 44 general Ayasmanta and reigned seventeen days<sup>2</sup>. But the 45 general, Vikkantaemūnukka, the villain, slew the Monarch Anikāga and had the government carried on for a year<sup>3</sup> by 46 the first consort of King Parakkamabāhu, Līlavati by name, who had already reigned before.

Now came King Lokissara by name, who had been 47 wounded in the shoulder by a spear, with a great Dumiā army from the opposite shore, brought the whole of Lankā 48 under his sway and reigned, dwelling in Pulathinagara, nine months<sup>4</sup>. Hereupon the general Parakkama, the best among 49 men of decision, endowed with great power and courage, belonging to the family of the Kālānūgaras, consecrated the 50 Mahēst Līlavati<sup>5</sup> who came of the dynasty of the Sun and Moon, in the royal dignity, she who afterward shone in royal

<sup>1</sup> Pājāv. the same. In Rājāv. it is expressly stated that it was Ayasmanta who raised the prince to the throne. The prince's age at his ascent of the throne is given as 6 months, the length of Ayasmanta's regency as 6 years.

<sup>2</sup> The same number in Pājāv. and Rājāv.

<sup>3</sup> In Pājāv. and Rājāv. the general is called Muṇukkā Somari. The length of the regency is given as one year.

<sup>4</sup> Pājāv. and Rājāv. 6 months.

<sup>5</sup> Līlavati thus enjoyed the royal dignity nominally at least three times (v. 30 f., 45 f., 49 f.). For inscriptions of this queen see EZ. I. 176 ff., II. 192 ff., 238 ff. The last named was found at Potgul-vihara in Polonnaruwa and says that the queen had this building restored. It was one of the foundations of Parakkamabāhu I. For the general Parakkama see Dāthāvuyapa v. 4.

51 splendour. When then a space of about seven months<sup>1</sup> had passed for the Mahesi, there landed with a great Pāpḍa army  
 52 from the Pāpḍa kingdom the glorious Pāpḍa King Parakkama,  
 53 deposed the Queen and her general Parakkama and after he had cleared Lankā from the briers (of revolt), he ruled the  
 54 realm in superb Pulathinagara for three years<sup>2</sup>, without  
 55 transgressing the political precepts of Manu. But since in  
 56 consequence of the enormously accumulated, various evil deeds  
 57 of the dwellers in Lankā, the devatas who were everywhere  
 58 entrusted with the protection of Lankā, failed to carry out  
 59 this protection, there landed a man who held to a false creed,  
 60 whose heart rejoiced in bad statesmanship, who was a forest  
 61 fire for the burning down of bushes in the forest of the good,  
 62 — that is of generosity and the like — who was a sun whose action  
 63 closed the rows of night lotus flowers — that is the good  
 64 doctrine — and a moon for destroying the grace of the groups  
 65 of the day lotuses — that is of peace — (a man) by name  
 66 Māgha, an unjust king sprung from the Kūliṅga line, in  
 67 whom reflection was foiled by his great delusion, landed as  
 68 leader of four and twenty thousand warriors from the Kūliṅga  
 69 country and conquered the island of Lankā. The great searching  
 70 fire — King Māgha — commanded his countless flames  
 71 of fire — his warriors — to harass the great forest — the  
 72 kingdom of Lankā<sup>3</sup>. While thus his great warriors oppressed  
 73 the people, boasting cruelly everywhere: "We are Kēra  
 74 warriors", they tore from the people their garments, their  
 75 ornaments and the like, corrupted the good morals of the  
 76 family which had been observed for ages, cut off hands and  
 77 feet and the like (of the people), destroyed many houses and  
 78 tied up cows, oxen and other (cattle) which they made their  
 79 own property. After they had put fetters on the wealthy  
 80 and rich people and had tortured them and taken away all

<sup>1</sup> The same in Pājāv.; Rājāv. 4 months.

<sup>2</sup> The same in Pājāv. and Rājāv.

<sup>3</sup> In verses 66-60 the compiler gives specimens of his intimacy with the rules of Indian poetics — alayikāra. The comparisons belong to the species *vṛipāda*. Cf. Dandin, Kātyāyana 2. 66 ff.

their possessions, they made poor people of them. They wrecked the image houses, destroyed many cetiyas, ravaged the vihāras and maltreated the lay brethren. They flogged the children, tormented the five (groups of the) comrades of the Order<sup>1</sup>, made the people carry burdens and forced them to do heavy labour. Many books known and famous they tore from their cord and strewed them hither and thither. The beautiful, vast, proud cetiyas like the Ratanārati(-cetiya)<sup>2</sup> and others which embodied as it were, the glory of former pious kings, they destroyed by overthrowing them and allowing alas! many of the bodily relics, their souls<sup>3</sup> as it were, to disappear. Thus the Damija warriors in imitation of the warriors of Māru, destroyed in the evil of their nature, the laity and the Order. Heretopon they completely invested Patalchinagara and captured Purakkrama, that man of great might and valour. They put out the Monarch's eyes and plundered all his treasures, pearls, jewels and so forth. Then the leaders of the soldiers with Mānābhūṣṇa at the head, consecrated the Kāliṅga Mügha to the glorious royal dignity of Laikā.

Now after the Ruler Mügha had in this manner taken possession of the kingdom and attained the royal dignity, he dwelt in Patalchinagara. The Monarch forced the people to adopt a false faith and he brought great confusion into the four sharply divided castes<sup>4</sup>. Villages and fields, houses and gardens, slaves, cattle, buffaloes and whatever else belonged to the Sīhulas he had delivered up to the Kerajas. The vihāras, the parivetas and many sanctuaries he made over to one or other of his warriors as dwelling. The treasures which belonged to

<sup>1</sup> P. *saṅghabhikṣu*, that is the bhikkhus and bhikkhunīs, the novices, *saṅghas*, of male and female sex, and the young girls who were being prepared for the profession of nuns (*vikkhīṇā*).

<sup>2</sup> Here for the first time the now customary name (Sinh. *Ratnārati*) is used for the Mūhūrta in Anurādhapura.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "their life" (*īkāmag*).

<sup>4</sup> V. 41 ab must be compared with 76 c d. The "false faith" was Hinduism.

the Buddha and were the property of the holy Order he seized and thus committed a number of sins in order to go to hell.

79 In this fashion committing deeds of violence, the Ruler Māgha held sway in Lankā for twenty-one years<sup>1</sup>.

80 Thus in Lankā this and that ruler out of great lust for power, have slain this and that lord of men, but have themselves in consequence of these deeds, attained to no good old age, and even when they had achieved the kingly dignity, they could not also! enjoy it for long. Hence the wise man should refrain from the destruction of living beings and renounce wanton lust for power.

Here ends the eightieth chapter, called «The Sixteen Kings», in the Mahāvastu, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The name is Pañjāv. According to Rājāv, 19 years. The description of Māgha's reign in both chronicles agrees entirely with that of the Māta, Rājarata, and Nik.-s. continue their enumeration of the names (cf. note to 80.31). In the first: Sāmangalla (read Sāhasramalla), Kalyāṇavatī, Mārūpabhu, Nehūgu, Āśilāvratī, Lokesvara, Līlāvatī, Purūjita Purākramabāhu; in the second: Sāhasramalla, Kalyāṇavatī, Dharmāśaka, Kalyāṇaguru Līlāvatī, Lokesvara, Līlāvatī, Purākramajāṇḍil. Then there follows in Rājarata the account of the tyrannical reign of the Kāliṅga Megha. Nik.-s. has the form Māgha.

## CHAPTER LXXXI

## THE REIGN OF ONE KING

During this alien rule<sup>1</sup> several virtuous people had founded 1 on divers of the most inaccessible mountains a charming town (or) a village<sup>2</sup> and dwelling here and there protected the laity 2 and the Order so that they were in peace. On the summit of the Subha mountain<sup>3</sup> hard to ascend by the foe, the Senāputi 3 Subba had founded a town, as Vessaraya the town Ālakamandū, and dwelling here and fending off the Keraṭa devils, he protected 4 the (surrounding) country and the Order. On the summit of the Gorindamala<sup>4</sup> hard to reach by the rebels, the Ādipāda 5 ruler Bhuranekabāhu by name, whose courage was known to the world, had founded a town and by dwelling there, he 6 protected the province of Rohaya, the community of the bhikkhus and the Order<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P. *rājanterā* (cf. 85, 46) formed like *desavata*. The translation "interregnum" is also permissible, since no lawful kings reigned.

<sup>2</sup> P. *māgarūpā grāmā*. When in the sequel the buildings on the rocks are designated as *māgarūpā* the reason is probably that larger settlements arose at the foot of the rock fortresses and under the protection of these. The word *māyara* is associated with the idea of a permanent stronghold.

<sup>3</sup> *Suthapabbhū*, now Yūpāha (= *gahapātu* = P. *gānapabbhū*), an isolated rock like Sigiri, not far from Maha. Cf. H. C. P. Bell, ASC 1910-11 = X, 1914, p. 62 ff.; 1911-12, p. 69 ff.; E. H. Morsen, JHAS, C. B. XIII, nr. 44, 1898, p. 97 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This form of the name is hardly right. The Col. Ed. has altered it into *Gorindale*, I should rather propose *Gacindale*, since its name to-day is *Gorundale*. The Gorindale is known by the name of "Westminster Abbey". This imposing rock rises 20 miles west of Trukkoril, south of the village of Hovila in the Mahāvediṇī Kōrāle (Censor, 1921, II, p. 460). Cf. P. Lewis, JIAS, C. B. 1908, nr. 63, p. 107 ff.; 1914, nr. 67, p. 279 ff.

<sup>5</sup> When *bhikkhus-ayyha* and *āsava* are named together here, the first means the persons, the second the thing, that is the doctrine and the free practice of it in the Order.

7 In the same way again the general called Śuṅkha founded  
 8 in the district Mayimekhalā by name, on the lofty mountain  
 9 Gaṅgūḍeji a superb town and while dwelling there, gave as  
 little heed to the infamous army of the Ruler Māgha, though  
 it was but two yojanas away, as to a blade of grass and  
 protected without fear that district and the Order.

10 Now at that time there was a king known by the name of  
 11 Vijayabāhu, belonging to the line of King Saṃghabodhi<sup>1</sup>, a  
 12 man of splendid courage who after he had through fear of  
 13 the foe withdrawn to divers inaccessible forests and had long  
 14 dwelt there, attained the dignity of a king of the Vanni<sup>2</sup>.  
 15 The mighty one brought all the dignitaries of the Sihalas  
 16 under his influence, marched forth with a Sihala army and  
 destroyed the whole of the four-membered forces of the foe  
 which were armed for battle, as a mighty flame of fire<sup>3</sup>  
 17 (destroys) the darkness. All the Dāmila warriors who dwelt  
 as they pleased in the single villages and houses he drove  
 18 forth. After he had freed superb Mayraṇḍha<sup>4</sup> from the briars  
 (of the foe), the Ruler built on the lofty summit of the  
 19 Jambudolī<sup>5</sup> mountain a splendid town with fine walls and  
 gate-towers, resided there in happiness and carried on the  
 government as capable monarch.

<sup>1</sup> Saṃghabodhi I. See Mava. 26. 73 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Here the tribe of the Vanni is mentioned for the first time. The name does not occur in the older Mahāvagga nor in the Cūlavagga of Dhammakkitti. The Vanni live to-day, but a few hundred in number, in small villages on the northern frontier of the North-Central Province. They go in for agriculture and preferably for hawking. Their origin is unknown. The surrounding inhabitants call them Veddas as a rule, and the Census of 1921 evidently includes them among these. They themselves repudiate all connection with the Veddas on whom they look down with contempt. Cf. H. P. Parker, The Vanniya, The Tropicologist, Feb. 1887, p. 15 ff.; and Ancient Ceylon, p. 86 ff.

<sup>3</sup> D. *agikkhāmata*, synonymous for *ugikkhāmata*.

<sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy that in this second continuation of the Cūlavagga the names Dakkhinadesa and Rūjāraṇītha vanish and are replaced by *Maydrattha* and *Patipphattha*. Cf. note to B1. 46.

<sup>5</sup> Now Dambadeniya, about 18 miles south-west of Kurunegala. Cf. H. H. Munro, JRAS. C. B., XV, no. 48, 1897, p. 23 ff.

And further: during these disturbed times all the Grand theras with Vācissara at the head, had carried away from Polatthinagama the Almsbowl Relic and the Tooth Relic of the Master, had gone forth, had betaken themselves to Māyārātha and there on the mountain Ketthumala in a safe region had buried both the relics carefully in the earth and so preserved them<sup>1</sup>. Now some of these Grand theras with Vācissara at the head, who sought that protection for Laṅkā on which depended the continuance of the Order, had crossed the vast ocean, despite its raging waves, had betaken themselves to the lands of the Pāpūs, Coṭas and other (peoples). Now Vijayabahu sending forth his great dignitaries, summoned all these theras who were a mine of mercy<sup>2</sup> back from there. When the Grand theras arrived he greeted them with reverence and asked them: "Where are the two relics, the Tooth and the Almsbowl preserved"? At their answer, "In such and such a place", the Monarch's whole body was filled with a fivefold joy<sup>3</sup>. Led by the crowd of the Grand theras, the Ruler set forth with his army for the Kotthumala mountain. After he had performed a great sacrificial-festival<sup>4</sup> round about the mountain, he beheld there gazing with his whole soul<sup>5</sup>, the

<sup>1</sup> Pujā, Rājāy- and Rājakaṇṭa agree with the Chronicles in regards the rescue of the two relics from Polatthinagama and the bringing of them to Māyārātha. The chronicles call the mountain Kotthumaya. The thera Vācissara is not mentioned. In our passage *theravaṭṭhaṇḍi* in v. 10b must be understood as appositional addition to *paṭṭaṇḍi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ta kāryākāra* cannot refer to Vijayabahu, but only to *ta mahātthera*.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "one whose whole body was filled with...". The five kinds of joy are according to Cūraṇas (P. T. 5, v. pitṭi) *skandhikī* p. "slight joy", *skandhikī* p. "momentary joy", *akkharikī* p. "joy that comes like a sudden shock", *abbeyapī*, "transporting joy" (that will make you leap into the air) and *piṇṇayapī*, "all-pervading joy".

<sup>4</sup> The King marches round the mountain with his attendants as a pilgrim walks round a holy place and has sacrificial ceremonies performed at the four cardinal points.

<sup>5</sup> P. *ekkhammava*. W's translation "with great delight" is too weak. We have here a formation like *hīṇasamava* Dh. 390 (DhCo. IV. 148 = *bhūtāṇi*) "whose intention was the eye, that is gazing".

27 two relics of the Tooth and of the Almsbowl. With a heart  
 as full of joy as if he had found a jewel like the wheel and  
 the rest<sup>1</sup> or a great treasure, or as if he had attained Nirvana,  
 28 the Sovereign took unto himself the two relics and blessed  
 like Mandhatar<sup>2</sup>, he bore them with great celebrations from  
 29 village to village, from town to town and brought them to  
 30 the beautiful city of Jambudelogi where the pious people began  
 by day celebrated a great sacrificial ceremony for the relics,  
 31 he thought thus: "In order that if in future time another  
 interregnum<sup>3</sup> occurs, no evil from alien enemies shall befall  
 32 these relics of the Sage, I will carefully provide for them a still  
 33 more inaccessible place, fast and sure." Thus pondering he had the  
 Billasela<sup>4</sup> (mountain) made fast on every side with walls, gate-  
 34 towers and the like, that save by the gods in the air, it could  
 not be trodden by any human feet. And on the summit of  
 the rock he built a superb temple for the Tooth Relic,  
 35 ravishing as a divine palace descended from the world of the  
 gods. Around this he laid out a park for the community with  
 36 divers pāsādes and mayalapās, delightful for taking an airing  
 when passing the day or when passing the night therein,  
 37 provided with lakes and bathing-ponds. In this relic temple  
 the wise (monarch) had the two relics, Tooth and Bowl, carefully  
 38 placed with great solemnity. After making over the park for  
 the community to the faithful theras who were charged with

<sup>1</sup> P. *cakkavatthi*. This refers to the seven jewels which belong to the *cakkavatti* or world ruler (cf. *Chinnava, s. v. ratna*); the first of these is *cakka* the wheel, as symbol of world dominion.

<sup>2</sup> See 37, 63 and note.

<sup>3</sup> Should we not read *parva* instead of *parna* in 31 b, or is *parva* used with the same meaning?

<sup>4</sup> Now Belgaon (so Pājāv., Rājāv. and Rājaratna). This is the name of a hamlet in the Oberi Pattiya of the Kegalla District and of a Konda in the same district. The Belgaon Konda is mentioned in the Kadain-pota (H. C. P. Bell, Report on the Kegalla District, p. 2) as well as in the Sri Laka-kasāyura (H. Navana, The Tuprahannum, June 1888, p. 56, 60). The rock of Belgaon on which the relics were hidden resembles in isolation and steepness that of Yāpaka (cf. Dasa, 1.1, p. 260).

the care of the reliques, he decreed a regular offering of alms. Also he commanded that a sacrificial ceremony of surpassing kind should be performed for the reliques day by day in most perfect fashion.

Now in his faith the Sovereign set about rendering helpful service to the Order of the perfectly Enlightened One. If one asks how (this was done), the account runs thus: Deeply grieved in his heart that on the island of *Lanka* so many books that dealt with the true doctrine had been destroyed by the alien foe, the Ruler called together laymen endowed with a good memory and with knowledge, pious, well instructed, free from indulgence and skilled in quick and fair writing, and along with these, many other writers of books and made all these write down in careful fashion the eighty-four thousand divisions of the doctrine and made over to them in accordance with the number of the divisions the like number of gold *kaṇṭapayas*<sup>1</sup>. He also performed a sacrificial festival for the doctrine and thus heaped up a fulness of merit. The *theras* and the middle-aged and young (*bhikkhus*) and also the *śāmaperas* in *Tisbhala*<sup>2</sup> who had taken on themselves the burden of a life of discipline, all these protectors of the teaching of the Master he gathered together and made harmony where there had been discord. And then the Monarch pondered thus: "The ceremony of admission to the Order<sup>3</sup> is the foundation of the prosperity of the Order. How would it be if I had it performed now in the right way?" And joyful at heart, he endowed the whole vast reunited community richly with the eight articles of necessity<sup>4</sup> and made them hold for seven days the ceremony of admission to the Order which was preceded by offerings and honours

<sup>1</sup> This account is extremely significant for the history of the tradition of the sacred texts in Ceylon. It is found also in *Pūjāv.*, *Rājāv.* and *Hājumū.*

<sup>2</sup> This expression which refers to the threefold division of the Island into *Patiṭṭhabhāṇṭha*, *Mūḍāṇṭha* and *Bolāṇṭha* and which frequently recurs, is used here for the first time. Cf. note to Sl. 15.

<sup>3</sup> P. *apuṇḍapādī*.

<sup>4</sup> See note to 60, 71.

51 instituted by himself. After the Ruler had laid out the park known to the world by his name of Vijayasundara and destined 52 for the community<sup>1</sup>, he made it over to them. In his charitableness the Ruler thought: "Bhikkhus and sâmaneras who 53 study the Tipitâka in faith and lead in every way the pious life that springs from it, must never be troubled about their 54 livelihood. They shall come to the gate of my house and receive whatever articles of use they are in need of." And he invited them full of reverence, and gave to the many 55 bhikkhus who came to the portals of his palace excellent and 56 costly offerings, well versed in giving. Then the King ordered further for all ascetics who had reached the rank of thera or 57 grand thera, regular maintenance<sup>2</sup>. Thus in doing good to the Order the Monarch naturally honoured thereby the triad of the jewels — Buddha and the others.

58 In Vattalagâma<sup>3</sup> the King had built for the bhikkhus in a perfect manner the vihâra called after his own name 59 Vijayabâhu. In the vihâra Kalyângi by name, the Ruler had the vast and splendid cetiya which had been destroyed by the 60 Damila soldiers, made fast again and a golden finial put upon it,

<sup>1</sup> This monastery is also mentioned in Pâjâ, and Râjârâtu, as a foundation of Vijayabâhu. In Mv. 85, 90 it is called Sirivijayasundara. It was situated in Jambudipî.

<sup>2</sup> In the Râjârâtu, which is particularly concerned with Vijayabâhu the following strophe is quoted in praise of the generosity of the King.

Cittoddiseyâsajinntmâjânum  
âpñabâlentârâgârurâsâtusâ  
yadicekhitappâcengulâbhâlurâ  
devaraddumârâsâi mâlâmâbhâvâ.

"For those sons of the Victor who came from the four regions of the heavens his house became the refuge, because there they received all articles of use as they wished. Like a heavenly tree was the sublime one". The "heavenly tree" is of course, the "wishing tree" (skr. *kalpa-druma*).

<sup>3</sup> The building of the Vijayabâhu-vihâra is also related in Pâjâ, Râjâ, and Râjârâtu. The village of Vattalâ lies on the right bank of the Kelnâiganga, a little above its mouth. Thus it is not far from the Kelni-vihâra whose restoration is also mentioned in the Siamese chronicles.

as well as a gate-tower on its eastern side. There too he restored 61 whatever was decayed in the image houses, the encircling wall and the like and on all other (buildings). The King also gave 62 the order that all pāṭas, image-houses, vibāras, pariveyas, and likewise cetiyas, māṇḍapas, outer walls, gate-towers 63 and the like which were in Mayārāṭha, should be put into the condition in which they were formerly, and that new buildings should be erected.

Now as the King wished to accomplish himself still more for 64 the furtherance of the Isity and of the Order, he reflected thus: "At a time when I had already reached a great age and 65 youth had vanished, I gained the good fortune of the royal dignity and have until now enjoyed it. Now after the destruction 66 of all the evil foes who still remain over after the conquest and thereby to protect my people and after renewing the 67 structures of the destroyed and decayed vihāras to bring about the furtherance of my people — for that I have now but a short time." With such considerations the discerning Monarch 68 together with those people versed in the lore of signs, tested the (bodyly) signs of both of his own sons Parakkamabāhu 69 and Bhuwanekabāhu and attained this knowledge: "The signs on Parakkamabāhu are such that he will in accordance there- 70 with accomplish through the majesty of his power the destruction of the enemy and will unite all Lankā under one umbrella, so that none shall be above him; and that he will 71 further the spotless Order of the Omnipotent one; will spread his fame over the chief and the intermediate regions of the heavens; will receive from the most divers countries gifts as princesses for 72 his women's apartments and the like, and will be for long a world ruler on the Island." When he realised this, with eyes 73 filled with tears of joy, he made him sit on his knee and kissed him on the head. Then he gazed again and again full of love 74 on the younger prince, who stood near, gave them twain much excellent advice, made them by training practised in all arts, 75 accomplishments and the like. Then the Ruler entrusted of 76 the twain his elder son to the assembled community at whose head stood the Grand master known by the name of Sam- 77

gharakkhita. And again he entrusted the same (thera) with the two relics, the Tooth and the Almsbowl of the Sage, 78 as also with the whole Great community and also with the people dwelling in Lañkā and ruled this himself in perfect fashion<sup>1</sup>.

79 After the Sovereign had in this manner sowed the royal seed in the wide field of Lañkā, he entered heaven after a reign of four years<sup>2</sup>.

80 Even as this Ruler of men, Vijayabahu, protected the entire world of the laity and the Order of the Victor, so should all future rulers of Lañkā protect both, bestowing on them security.

Here ends the eighty-first chapter, called «The Reign of One King», in the Mahāvansā, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The meaning is that the King made Sangharmakkhita Head of the Church and entrusted him with the education of the heir to the throne. As head of the Order Sangharmakkhita had to look after the spiritual welfare of the people over whom the King exercised secular dominion.

<sup>2</sup> According to Itiāv, the King had reigned 34 years. But according to v. 66 he only came to the throne at an advanced age.

## CHAPTER LXXXII

THE EXHIBITION OF THE MIRACLE OF THE TOOTH  
RELIQUE

After the death of his father King Parakkamabāhu 1 united the whole of the people who were in Tishala, adorned 2 the fair town and as if he were the peer of the King of the gods, he first of all had the ceremony of the royal consecration performed. On account of his learning he himself received 3 the famous name of Kalikāla-sāhiceca-sabbaññupuṇḍita<sup>1</sup>. On 4 his younger brother Bhuvanekabāhu he conferred the dignity of yuvarāja and made over to him a part of the kingdom. With the thought: I will make the maiden Labukā my own, 5 to no other (shall she belong), he turned his proud spirit to the destruction of the alien foe. He thought: in the first 6 place I will perform a sacrificial festival for the Tooth Relic of the Sage, then will I go forth to war against the Damilas, and with great pomp and ceremony he brought 7 the Tooth Relic from the Billa mountain to the splendid town of Jambuddoṇi<sup>2</sup>. "I have the desire at every moment when I 8 think of it to worship the Tooth Relic with devotion at the three periods of the day" — so thought the Ruler and had built 9 near his palace a fair and costly temple for the Tooth Relic. In the midst of this the King had a splendid throne set up 10 and decked with a costly covering. Out of a large precious 11

<sup>1</sup> That is "the scholar who is entirely familiar with the literature of the Kali Age". The expressive *sāhiceca* "art of poetry, literary work" = sāhī, sāhīya, was until now absent from the dictionaries. The Kali Age (kalikāla, kaliyuga) is the last of the four ages, the one in which we are living.

<sup>2</sup> Thus too Pūjāv. According to Rājāv., the king had brought the relic from Jambuddoṇi to Samiddhiyām.

stone the Ruler had a casket fashioned for the Tooth Relic  
 12 and again as receptacle for this a large, superb, costly jewel-  
 13 case of bright, valuable precious stones. Then for five thousand  
 14 gold nikkhas<sup>1</sup> he had as receptacle for this case a second  
 15 silver nikkhas a third chest. Now when the King starting  
 16 with the relic temple, had adorned the town, and had devoutly  
 17 celebrated a great sacrificial ceremony for the Tooth Relic, he  
 18 took the Tooth in the lotus of his hand<sup>2</sup> and spake in the  
 19 midst of the Great community the following solemn declaration<sup>3</sup>:  
 20 "Our sublime Buddha, god of the gods, the Sage, strong in  
 21 miraculous power visited this island of Lañkā three times,  
 and that most supreme of men went away, having sojourned  
 here and there and having made of sixteen prominent places  
 spots hallowed by his use<sup>4</sup>. Therefore it is that Lañkā is not  
 under the power of kings of a false faith, but under the power  
 of kings of the true faith it flourishes in the right manner.  
 Aforetime also on this island the Ruler of men by name  
 Asela, son of the Ruler Mūgasena, wise in statecraft, conquered  
 the Damijas Sena and Guttaka who carried on horse-dealing<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. nikkha or nikha = ved. *niśka*, is a weight with which the precious metals are weighed. According to Abh. 480, 898 it seems to be equal to 5 suvarṇas. This would agree with the Indian reckoning which makes one nikkha (= 1 pala = 4 or 5 suvarṇas) equal to 66.675 gr. The figures in our passage are certainly a fantastic exaggeration.

<sup>2</sup> A frequent *rupa*. Cf. Dāyādī 06 (note to 80. 00) *prabhupūjā*.

<sup>3</sup> P. *sācikriyā* etc. See note to 51. 56.

<sup>4</sup> P. *prabhūyūpī*. This is in the first place a term for reliques which are reverenced as articles of use belonging to a saint, such as the alms-bowl of the Buddha. In contrast to these are the bodily (*paribhūta*) reliques, as for instance the Tooth Relic. Here places are called *prabhūyūpī* because the Buddha by use (*prabhūyūpa*), by sojourning there had hallowed them. The legend of Buddha's three visits to Lañkā is related in Mhv. 1. The 16 places where according to tradition he sojourned on these occasions, are given by W. in his translation p. 277, note. The most important are Mahīnāgama, Keluniya, Adam's Peak, the sites of the various caves in Anurādhapura, Tissamahārāma etc.

<sup>5</sup> P. *masavātikāpīcī* etc. W. translates "sons of the horse merchant" which is also possible. But *pasītī* may better be taken as a mere paraphrase as in *kañcūdāyattā* etc. Cf. on the whole Mhv. 21, 10 ff.

by sea, and held sway while sheltering the Order of the Victor. Then the famous Great king Dattagāmīpi Abbaya 22 vanquished Elāra of the Cola country and protected the laity and the Order. Again the Monarch Vaṭṭagāmīpi 23 vanquished in combat five very cruel Damila princes and protected the laity and the Order. Then the Ruler of men, 24 Dhatusena, subdued six Damila kings with their countless great warriors, and sheltered the laity and the Order. Again 25 the great Vijayabāhu put to flight in battle the Coliyas and the Damiles and protected the laity and the Order. Now I 26 too have the wish to vanquish the insolent Damiles who have destroyed vihāras and other buildings and also the Order of the Master and still have their abode in Patīṭhāratīṭha<sup>1</sup>, 27 the twain, King Māgha and Jayabāhu<sup>2</sup>, and to further the laity and the Order. That is a true word and yet more I say: 28 the highly virtuous, far-famed monarchs with the Kosala king 29 at the head, heard from the mouth of the Master while he lived, the preaching of the doctrine and saw many a miracle and their wishes were (thereby) fulfilled. Rulers mighty in 30 miraculous power like Dhammāsoka and the others who were born when the fully Enlightened One no longer lived, beheld 31 divers miracles like the figure of the perfectly Enlightened One<sup>3</sup> produced (in miraculous manner) and the like, and made each his life thereby rich in fruit. But when the Guide of 32 the worlds, having fulfilled the task of a Buddha, in the region of the Mallas, outstretched on the couch of great

<sup>1</sup> See note to §1. 16. The Sinhalese form of the name is Pihīrāṇa.

<sup>2</sup> It is clear that the reign of Vijayabāhu III. and the beginning of his son's reign fall within the 21 years assigned to Māgha in §0. 79. The usurper Jayabāhu has so far not been mentioned; both names are in the Pājāv. however.

<sup>3</sup> What is meant are miracles such as that described in MvA. 31. 90 ff. An *Uddhagāmī* is about to replace the reliquies in the Mahāthūpa the casket in which they are contained, rises in the air, opens of itself and the reliquies assume the form of the Buddha and perform the miracle which was performed by the Master under Gāyīn's mango tree in Sāvatthī. For the so-called *gāmīkappatībhāya* see MvCo. III. p. 206 ff.

33 Nirvana, came, as regards miracles, to the five great resolves<sup>1</sup>, then assuredly the Exalted One came also to lesser resolves.  
 34 From that day to this all the relics which exist, those of the body, as those associated with articles of use, perform through  
 35 the power of the Master miracles here in this our world.  
 When therefore the Guide of sages, coming to this and that  
 36 resolve, saw (in spirit) in the five thousand years' duration  
 of his Order, the future monarchs who take upon themselves  
 37 the burden of faith and of moral discipline, then I think not  
 that the Exalted One will not with the eye of omniscience  
 have seen me also among them. But if I have been seen by  
 38 the Incomparable One<sup>2</sup>, if even I have been added to the  
 number of these great men and rulers of antiquity — loyal to  
 39 the faith in every respect — if I after destroying the alien foe  
 in terrible war, may accomplish the furtherance of the lily  
 40 and the Order, then may the Tooth Relic now perhaps make  
 manifest to me a fair miracle." After these words he became  
 lost in contemplation.

41 At this moment the Tooth Relic rose from the lobes of  
 his hand, like to the crescent moon, in the air, assumed the  
 42 glorious form of the Prince of the wise, diffused clusters  
 of rays of light sixfold in hue, illuminated the whole town,  
 43 manifested thus a glorious miracle, enraptured the Ruler  
 of men, returned from the air and settled again on his hand.  
 44 With the shouts of applause and the songs of praise of the  
 great crowd of people and above all of the Great community  
 45 who rejoiced at the sight of the superb miracle of the relic,  
 the whole town was at this time everywhere full of intense  
 46 excitement. "This day I have gained life, this day my life  
 has become of worth; this day hurray! my life has become  
 47 perfectly fruitful. Having by the power of my merit beheld  
 to-day such a miracle and having also seen the blessing

<sup>1</sup> For the *mahâbhâgikapâvâda* see Mîtra, 17. 46 ff. In vv. 51-52 the miracle mentioned in the preceding note is foretold here. The lesser resolves refer to other miracles not included in the five great resolves, such as that expected now by the king.

<sup>2</sup> P. *ratna* "of him who is so as he is and no other".

of merit richly earned by the people<sup>1</sup>, I now have been enrolled 48 among those earlier rulers of men, famed for the fulness of their virtues in this Order of the Sage.<sup>2</sup> With these words 49 the Great king, great in insight and miraculous power, gave forth a lion's roar in the midst of the vast assembly.

After the Ruler with the whole of his sixty-four 50 ornaments<sup>3</sup>, such as the diadem, the bracelet and so forth had made an offering to the Tooth Relic, he laid it carefully 51 in the jewel-casket and after placing this lustrous (casket) in the golden chest he again placed this carefully in the fair 52 and costly chest fashioned of silver.

The Tooth Relic thus preserved in the best way in three 53 chests one within the other, he then placed in his relic temple. For seven days long he celebrated with the (offering of the) seven kinds of precious articles<sup>4</sup>, with great wreaths and perfumes and with all kinds of food solid and liquid a great sacrificial festival.

Here ends the eighty-second chapter, called «The Exhibition of the Miracle of the Tooth Relic», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The blessing consists in the sight of the miracle taking place before the eyes of all and of the effects which proceed from it. The MSS. have *sravakānām pūrṇāntarapūrṇām* and so has my edition. The Col. Ed. alters it to "Whence" *pañca*, but *pañca* *pañca* is acc. case and depends, like *pūrṇāntarapūrṇām* on *śāstra*. By the power of his merit the King has seen the miracle and he has also seen the blessing of the people's merit, which shows itself therein that they were found worthy of the same vision as the king.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for this E. W. PERERA, Ceylon Notes and Queries, III. April 1914, p. XXXVI ff., where the enumeration of the regalia in the Sinhalese Thūparāmpa is discussed.

<sup>3</sup> P. *ratnākali vishnū*. The seven ratnākali are: *sravanga* (gold), *rajata* (silver), *matti* (pearls), *mūli* (precious stones like sapphire and ruby), *valanga* (a semi-precious stone (?) like cat's eye), *vajira* (diamond), *paridī* (coral). See CUTTERER, s. v.

## CHAPTER LXXXIII

## THE STORY OF THE SUBJUGATION OF THE HOSTILE KINGS

1 Since all the inhabitants of Lâkâ had seen the effect of the merits of the King, they lived from that time onward  
 2 filled with still greater reverence towards him, in fear, in joy and in love, never were they capable of transgressing his  
 3 commands. All the sovereigns of the divers countries sent the King gifts, since their hearts were inclined to admiration of his majesty.

4 People whose heads were to be cut off he punished only in sfern fashion with dungeon and fetters<sup>1</sup> and then set them  
 5 free again. But for such people as deserved prison the Ruler to whom pity was the highest, ordained some lighter punishment<sup>2</sup>  
 6 or other, and reprimanded them. But on people who should have been banished from the country the Ruler who might be likened to Manu, laid but a fine of a thousand (kâshâpâpanas).  
 7 But on all those who deserved a fine, he looked with indignation and with all sorts of words of rebuke he made of them honest men.

8 Then all these people, the forces of the foe in Lâkâ who abiding in forest strongholds and elsewhere, had become  
 9 unconquerable by his father, the hero vanquisher of foes, the King set about subjugating by the power of his majesty and

<sup>1</sup> *Kâshâpâpanâdharmamattâ* cannot be joined to *parimocchi*. In this case *pana* would be quite unintelligible. It belongs far rather to *niggañâpanâ*.

<sup>2</sup> I think that *niggañâ* *tarâ* as well as *niggañâtarâ* in v. 4 must mean a punishment and not a mere admonition. This is expressed by *asatti* in v. 5c. But the punishment was always less severe than the guilty person had deserved. The same also in v. 4 and 7. In *niggañâ-*

by the might of his loving spirit<sup>1</sup>. The Sihala kings in the 10 land of the Vanni who were equipped with army and train, he brought completely under his influence, sitting merely on his lion's throne<sup>2</sup>. All the Sihalas with their lion-like courage who 11 dwelt in Tisihala<sup>3</sup>, these all the Ruler of men assembled around him and made them content. Then he dared to overthrow 12 the great Damila warriors who building great fortresses, had settled here and there in the country. Of all the Sihalas who 13 on the field were as lions against cutting elephants — the enemy — he sent some hither, others thither. The great 14 Sihala warriors wherever they came, harassed the Damila warriors as the Garulas the Nagas<sup>4</sup>.

At that time the Damila kings, Māghinda and Jayabahu<sup>5</sup> 15 had set up fortifications in the town of Pulaththi(nagara), famous for its wealth, in the village of Kotthasara<sup>6</sup>, in Gubgālsaka<sup>7</sup>, in the village of Kakālaya<sup>8</sup>, in the Padi district 16 and in Kurundi<sup>9</sup>, in Mānasatta, in Mahatittha and in the harbour of Mannara<sup>10</sup>, at the landing-place of Palaceri and 17 in Valikagāma, in the vast Gona district and in the Gonusu district, at Madhupādapatittha and at Sukaratittha<sup>11</sup>; at these 18

places (v. 7c) *viggihā* it is true, means "rebuke". That is after all the mildest punishment.

<sup>1</sup> Thus by force or by kindness. As regards the construction of the sentence, *paripantham* *balu* should probably be taken as in opposition to *sabbe vāṇḍugādīnāsāt*.

<sup>2</sup> Without recourse to force, merely by his prestige as sovereign. For the Vanni cf. note to 81. 11.

<sup>3</sup> See note to 81. 45.

<sup>4</sup> See note to 75. 88. <sup>5</sup> Cf. 82. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Situated not far from Pulaththi(nagara). See note to 61. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Now Kantulai, see note to 70. 286.

<sup>8</sup> "Crow's Home". The name does not otherwise occur.

<sup>9</sup> The two names appear again in 88. 64 next to each other. In the Sri Laka-kāṇḍyam (The Turpanion 1888, p. 60) they are noted among the districts of the Pīkū-cāra (Pātīthū-ratthā).

<sup>10</sup> Now Maṭṭai and Mannar. See notes to 48. 81 and 61. 29.

<sup>11</sup> Of the six last localities only Madhupādapatittha is mentioned once more. It may be assumed that like the foregoing places, they were all situated in Northern Ceylon.

19 and other places, and committing all kinds of violent deeds, had  
 20 stayed there a long time. Their forty and four thousand  
 21 soldiers, Damiles and Keralas, who had pressed by the spear-  
 22 armed Sihala warriors, were unable to resist, came terror-  
 23 stricken to Pulathinagara and held counsel thus as to their  
 24 future conduct: "King Parakkamabahu is of high majesty  
 25 and has miraculous power. Who in the world is strong enough  
 26 to neglect his commands? Even the monarchs of foreign lands  
 27 have now come under his influence, also all the Sihalas. Even  
 28 some of us Damiles are his followers. What is the use of  
 29 words about others? But what, what shall we people do? Now  
 30 we have all become dim like glow-worms at the rising of the  
 31 radiant sun. Therefore in the future it is impossible for us  
 32 to take up our abode on the Sihala island, we will go to  
 33 another country." They took all their elephants and horses,  
 34 as well as their pearls and costly precious stones, the royal  
 35 diadems and all the beauties of the harem, all ornaments,  
 36 cloths, mantles, baskets and every kind of valuable with them  
 37 in their fear and began to leave the town. But owing to the  
 38 notion of the King's merit they mistook the regions of the  
 39 heavens. They thought it was the eastern gate and marched  
 40 out through the western gate<sup>2</sup> and came to Kālavāpi where  
 41 the army of the Sihalas had set up an entrenched camp.  
 42 With all their goods they had also to sacrifice their life  
 43 by each giving his to the Sihala warriors, thus carrying out  
 44 themselves what the King had only thought. And all the Sihalas  
 45 taking from them their accumulated treasures, because from this  
 46 time onward rich people<sup>3</sup>, as in ancient times all the dwellers

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 16-21 form one sentence. The construction is as follows: The 40000 soldiers of the two Damila kings who after erecting fortifications in such and such places, had been settled there for a long time, came and held counsel.

<sup>2</sup> The mistake of the Damiles is, of course, nothing but a fiction of the compiler. The intention of the mercenaries was to reach the western coast with their booty and there cross to India. At Kālavāpi the Sihalas intercepted them. Pūjāya gives the same account of the occurrence as the Cilāra, Rājāya, a different one.

<sup>3</sup> P. may mean of pregnant significance in allusion to the *saṃyuktas* following in v. 31.

in Mithilā who gained the wealth which the kings a hundred in number, but through fear flung away<sup>1</sup>. After thus accomplishing by his power the crushing of the alien foe, he set himself to bring about the prosperity of all Laṅkā.

When the eleventh year of the reign of this King had arrived, a king of the Jārukas known by the name of Candabhānu landed with a terrible Jāvaka army under the treacherous pretext that they also were followers of the Buddha<sup>2</sup>. All these wicked Jāvaka soldiers who invaded every landing-place and who with their poisoned arrows, like to terrible snakes, without ceasing harassed the people whomever they caught sight of, laid waste, raging in their fury, all Laṅkā. Just as flashes of lightning with floods of water (visit) a place destroyed by lightning with flames of fire<sup>3</sup>, so Laṅkā which had been harassed by Mūgha and others was ravaged anew by the Jāvakas. Then the King sent forth his sister's son, the heroic Prince Virabahu, with soldiers to fight the Jāvakas. The fearful Bahu, namely Virabahu, with his terrible appearance completely destroyed (the moonlight, namely) Candabhānu in the fields of heaven, namely in the battle<sup>4</sup>. He placed his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W., note to this passage. The story alluded to here is related in the Umeniggajūlaka (Faucheur, JAT. VI. 389 ff.). Through the eleven years of the Bodhisattva the inhabitants of Mithilā capture the possessions of 101 kings against whom they had been fighting. Cf. JAT. VI. 409<sup>23</sup>: *teva patthīga ca kira Mithilāvassā sahīrūma jātū*. To get the proper construction in our passage the words *yañca parū* must be joined to the following and not to the preceding as is done by W., for which an *ita* or *yañca* in v. 34 would be indispensable.

<sup>2</sup> P. *ayugī*, followers of the Sagata, the guide to the path of salvation. The Pūjāv. also mentions Candabhānu as the leader of the Jāvakas. According to Rājiv. his soldiers were Damillas.

<sup>3</sup> The *parūmāna* and the *virūpāna* are contrasted. Both are devastating thunderstorms. In the one case it is the kindling flashes of lightning that cause the destruction, in the other the floods of rain causing inundations. W.'s translation "fury of a flood of water" and "fire and lightning" seems to me weak, as it takes *agni* at first in its derived and the second time in its original signification.

<sup>4</sup> A picture suggested by the name of Candabhānu ("Moonshine"). Bahu is the demon who causes the eclipses. We have again to do with

heroic Sihala soldiers here and there and began to open fight  
 44 with the Jāvaka warriors. The good Sihala warriors, sure in  
 45 aim, the archers, shattered in pieces with their sharply pointed  
 arrows, in the battle the countless number of arrows whizzing  
 against them with their poisoned tips which were shot swiftly  
 one after the other by the Jāvaka soldiers from a machine<sup>1</sup>.  
 46 Going forth to the combat like Rāma, Prince Virabāhu slew  
 47 numbers of Jāvakas, as Rāma (slew) the Rakshasas. 'The  
 48 Veramba wind', namely Virabāhu, possessed of great vehemence,  
 shattered again and again the forest wilderness, namely the  
 49 Jāvaka foes. After thus putting to flight the Jāvakas in  
 combat, he freed the whole region of Lankā from the foe.  
 50 Hereupon he betook himself to Devanagara, worshipped there  
 the lotus-hued god<sup>2</sup> and celebrated for him a divine sacrifice.  
 51 He had erected there a prīvapa that was intended for the  
 Order; it received the name of Nandana<sup>3</sup>, since it was the  
 delight of the people. Thereupon he turned and came to the  
 town Jambuddipi, he sought out Parakkamabahu, and he  
 was overjoyed.

compounds of the rāpaka order (Skr. *Vrakshar* etc. *Rahasy*). See notes to 80.60, 82.18. According to the Rājā, however, it was not the sister's son but the younger brother of the King, who vanquished Cundabahu.

<sup>1</sup> P. *gantamutte* (*hārga*). Something apparently like the ancient catapult. Mhs. 72.251 mentions huge stones being hurled from such machines.

<sup>2</sup> Veramba is the name given to strong winds which blow in great heights (cf. PTS, P. D. 2, v.1). The corresponding word in Skr. is *vrīmukha*. A synonym for *vrīmukha* is *kavacita*.

<sup>3</sup> That is "the blue-coloured". Name of Viṣṇu. Cf. 85.85 ff. Devanagara (or Jurna) is the present Dondra, Sinh. Devanadara. The place has been already mentioned in 60.50 and 75.47, but here for the first time we have a notice of the shrine of Viṣṇu celebrated in the Middle Ages. According to tradition it was built in 798 A. D. It was plundered and destroyed by the Portuguese in 1588 A. D. See P. E. Picard, Ceylon and the Portuguese, (= P. 2) p. 109 f. It is significant that Virabāhu offered his sacrifice of victory in a Hindu rāvacharya. At the same time however, he builds a pavilaya for the Buddhist Order, thus putting his attitude towards their parity beyond doubt. Even to-day a Hindu *devālaya* and a Buddhist *vihāra* stand side by side in Dondra.

<sup>4</sup> That is "joy, delight, ecstasy".

Now after he had thus carried on divers great wars and 52 after he had scattered the terrible crowd of all his foes, the great and mighty Sovereign Parakkamabāhu attained the fame of victory<sup>1</sup>.

Here ends the eighty-third chapter, called «The Story of the Subjugation of the Hostile Kings», in the *Mahāvaipasa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> South Indian inscriptions give an essentially different picture of the reign of Parakkamabāhu II, from our chronicle. According to these, Ceylon was invaded by the Pāṇḍyas about the middle of the 13th century. They say that of the kings of Ceylon one was killed and another forced to pay tribute. This shows that Parakkama never united the whole island under his dominion. H. W. Coomaraswamy, H.C. p. 77, 87.



## CHAPTER LXXXIV

## THE SERVICES RENDERED TO THE ORDER

1 Thereupon the Ruler, versed in the ordinances of Manu,  
 2 caused to be determined to what families the villages, fields,  
 3 houses and so forth long since seized by the alien for, belonged  
 4 by heredity, and had them returned to their aforesome owners  
 5 as before. Then he caused to be determined which villages,  
 parks and the like were the property of the Buddha and the  
 6 Doctrine, which (were) the assigned maintenance villages (for  
 7 ordinary needs), which the villages belonging to the Chapters,  
 8 which the villages which were personal possessions, which  
 9 (were) the villages of the eight sanctuaries<sup>1</sup> and the villages  
 10 of the pariseyas and had them given back. Further he appointed  
 the five groups of menials and the ten groups of menials  
 belonging to the royal household and determined their rank<sup>2</sup>.  
 11 While the Ruler made all the inhabitants of Lankā wealthy  
 12 and possessors of fortune, he took care that the whole country  
 13 had abundant food. All the corrupt groups (of bhikkhus) who  
 14 since the Interregnum lived only for their own desires, following  
 forbidden occupations<sup>3</sup>, with senses ever unbridled, he sought  
 15 out rigorously, dismissed them (from the Order) and thus  
 16 purified the Order of the perfectly Enlightened One. Then  
 17 the King sent many gifts to the Cola country<sup>4</sup> and caused to  
 18 be brought over to Tambapanni many respected Cola bhikkhus

<sup>1</sup> P. *abbeyanagārā*. It is difficult to say what is meant by this. For the explanation we must look above all to v. 17 f.

<sup>2</sup> See Mhv. 67, 58 and note.

<sup>3</sup> Professions which are not fitting for the sāmaṇa are enumerated in Digha-Nik. I. I. 10 (= I. p. 5) Cf. R. O. Fransé, Digha Transl. p. 7, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The same account in Pājā.

who had moral discipline and were versed in the three Piṭakas 10 and so established harmony between the two Orders<sup>1</sup>.

Then when the Ruler learned that among the many high-principled bhikkhus dwelling permanently in Tambaratīṭha<sup>2</sup> there was a Grand thera, Dhammakitti<sup>3</sup> by name, radiant in 11 the glory of moral discipline, and that once when this thera 12 was on his mendicant round, a lotus flower had blossomed on 13 his path, he was filled with admiration and sent a religious 14 gift, incense, sandal-wood, food and the like which had been 15 in contact with the Tooth Relic and likewise a choice and 16 princely gift<sup>4</sup> to Tambaratīṭha. He made the Grand thera 17 come to the island of Lañkā, rejoiced again and again, as if 18 he had beheld<sup>5</sup> the Perfect One, celebrated for him a great 19 sacrificial festival and provided him who was a (worthy) 20 vessel for offerings and honours<sup>6</sup>, in careful manner with an 21 offering of the four necessities. Now in order to provide 22 for the protection of the Order furthered by him, the Great 23 king built round about his capital for the eight Grand theras 24 who dwelt in the eight sanctuaries<sup>7</sup> and for the discerning 25 theras dwelling in villages or in the wilderness of the forest,

<sup>1</sup> These are the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna. The first school had its principal seat in the Mūhāvishāna, the second according to Mhv. 78. 21 ff., in the Abhayagiri and Jetavana vihāras. Cf. also W., note to the passage. See now S. PĀNĀKATIKA, Mahāyāna in Ceylon, C. J. Sc. 6, II, 1, p. 35 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a province in Southern India. Pūjār. has instead Tambralingam. It would appear from the Bājūr. that Candraṭhānu came from Tambalingam. So also H. W. Coxe, loc. cit., p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> The name of Dhammakitti occurs several times. According to WICKRAMASINGHE, Catalogue of Sinhalese MSS. in the Brit. Mus., p. 21 ff., 85b, the Dhammakitti of this passage was the compiler of the first continuation of the Mahāvagga.

<sup>4</sup> W.'s translation "and other royal gifts" is incorrect. Here dhammasyabhaṭṭa and rājaprabhaṭa are contrasted with one another.

<sup>5</sup> Not as W. has it: "as if he had seen an Arāha". Pūjār. has bājūr. rāhūtāñca dūdāc ca.

<sup>6</sup> Pājāgāthāraṭhājāyām belongs to note to 16 d. For the figurative meaning of "bhājām" cf. note to Mhv. 44, 70.

<sup>7</sup> See above note to r. 4.

19 many communal monasteries, suitable for dwelling in, extensive  
 embellished with divers pāñdas, provided with various mandapas,  
 20 furnished with divers bathing-ponds, adorned with cloisters which  
 were places of sojourn by day and by night, surrounded by  
 21 a series of flower parks and tree parks and granted them to  
 22 them. Further he celebrated with all articles of equipment a  
 great sacrificial festival. Thereupon the King gathered together  
 the Great community of the (bhikkhus) dwelling in villages and  
 in the wilderness of the forest and chose out all those who  
 strove continually for the keeping pure of moral discipline,  
 23 those who took upon themselves pious duties and were tried  
 in the leading of their life in the strictest way<sup>1</sup>, who were  
 endowed with the virtues of renunciation and so forth and  
 24 were steadfast in the precepts for the conscientious. He built  
 for them on the heights of the Puñabhatta<sup>2</sup> rock a forest  
 dwelling, assigned it to them and supported them therewith.  
 25 As they made of the strictest conduct a reality, he made  
 Luñkū through them in his days as it were, an abode of  
 26 arahants. With the reflection that theras who were acquainted  
 with the sacred texts were rare in the Island, he had all books  
 27 brought from Jambudipa, had many bhikkhus instructed in  
 the sacred texts, as also in all sciences, such as philosophy,  
 grammar and the like and thus made of them cultivated people.  
 28 In this manner furthering conduct and learning, the wise  
 (prince) honoured with such a religious sacrifice the Guide to  
 29 the path of salvation (Buddha). The Ruler caused his  
 younger royal brother, Bhuvanekabahu by name, to be in-  
 30 structed, so that he was versed in the three Piñakas. He  
 made him carry out the precepts for the theras and hold  
 lectures of instruction therons. But to the many bhikkhus who  
 31 hearkened he granted in the midst of the Great community  
 their appointment as theras, and presenting them with all  
 articles of equipment, he celebrated an offering for the theras.  
 32 Seeking for an occasion fraught with blessing, in order to

<sup>1</sup> P. *labbappatipatti*, cf. v. 25. The compound is missing in the PTS. P. D.

<sup>2</sup> In Piñay, Pañabhatta.

reach by the noble eight-fold path the saving shore from the ocean of re-births<sup>1</sup>, he had built in the third and sixth, then again in the eleventh, twelfth and seventeenth, as also in the twenty-first, twenty-seventh and thirtieth years of his reign thus eight times, a vast hall (resting) on sixty pillars<sup>2</sup>. Round about it he erected a great and splendid maghāpā. This again he had adorned with divers coloured stuffs and made numerous groups of bhikkhus abide there by turn for the purpose of rest. Day by day full of zeal, he did them honour with a great festival of gifts in his name and granted to many sūmāparas admission to the Order. Then following on this, he conferred on bhikkhus the highest rank, namely the dignity of a therī, Grand therī and the like<sup>3</sup>, and accumulating many important wares<sup>4</sup> of great value and many beautiful articles of equipment even to the measure of a king of elephants, the Ruler first presented to those who had attained the rank of a Grand therī, articles of equipment worthy of a king and then allotted to all the ascetics who were theras and to those who had been dismissed from the dependance on a teacher<sup>5</sup>, and to the others in their order, the eight articles of equipment<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The section v.32 to 41 is absent in the Pāṭīya. The *atthīgākāmavat* consists of the eight members: *saṃvādī�hi* "right insight", *saṃvādī�hi* "right thought", *saṃvādī�hi* "right speech", *saṃvādī�hi* "right doing", *saṃvādī�hi* "right gaining of livelihood", *saṃvādī�hi* "right endeavour", *saṃvādī�hi* "right deliberation", *saṃvādī�hi* "right spiritual concentration."

<sup>2</sup> The same 89, 40.

<sup>3</sup> W. renders *āgatīvātī* as title along with *devarī* and *vakūthī* as "incubant of temple". But this seems to be contradicted by v. 40 *vakūthīgātīgātīvātī* "mātch of a Grand therī". *Agatī* must therefore be correlated with *therī* and *vakūthī* in v. 38.

<sup>4</sup> P. *garabhadra* also 85, 105.

<sup>5</sup> P. *visayī*. By this is understand the relation between an older bhikkhu, the *upajīvī* and a younger, the *upāvīta*. The first has to instruct the second in all details of the monastic life and the younger must take the older as his model. He who has finished his course of instruction is *visayī*.

<sup>6</sup> See note to 80, 71.

42 Thus the King, the best of men, celebrated every seven days the great and superb festival of the eight bestowals<sup>1</sup>,  
 43 and later celebrating several times over the festival of admission into the Order, he made the Order of the Victor prosperous.  
 44 Thus the King by granting it in this way manifold support, caused as the moon<sup>2</sup> the ocean, the good Order of the Tathâgata — the king of the true doctrine — to grow in perfect fashion.

Here ends the eighty-fourth chapter, called «The Services Rendered to the Order», in the Mahâvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The expression *atthasampatti* must refer to the offering of the *atthas* *parikkhâra* (v. 41). *Upasampatti* is not the same as *upasampâda* "admission to the Order". It is to this festival which took place later (preached) that v. 43 alludes. In 89, 80 *upasampatti* is also used in connection with the distribution of articles of use to the bhikkhus, while the celebration of the *upasampâda* takes place later (v. 83).

<sup>2</sup> P. *anubhâra*, skr. the same, lit. "mine of nectar". Cf. for this name E. W. Perera, The Sinhalese and Spring Tides, in Ceylon Notes and Queries I, Oct. 1918, p. XVI.

## CHAPTER LXXXV

## THE PERFORMANCE OF ALL KINDS OF PIOUS WORKS

Hereupon the Ruler of men built in the splendid, incomparable, glorious town, by name Sirivadžjhana<sup>1</sup>, his birthplace, a vihāra exceeding rich and vast<sup>2</sup>. It was furnished with 2 pāśadas and mayapāras and with high walls and gate-towers, adorned with bodhi trees, with cetiyas, with groves and image houses, bright with all kinds of paintings<sup>3</sup> and embellished a over and over with ornaments. Then he had the stretch of 4 road from the town of Jambudvīpi to the town of Sirivadžjhana levelled in the length of half a yojana and the breadth of an usabha<sup>4</sup>, so that it was fair as the surface of a drum, and 5

<sup>1</sup> It is now generally recognized that this Sirivadžjhana has nothing to do with Kandy (cf. CORNEWALL, The Identification of the Sirivadžjhana-pura of Mahāvīra, Chap. LXXXV., JRAS, C. B., XII, No. 43, 1892, p. 200 ff.). It was situated according to v. 4 only half a yojana from Jambudvīpi-Dambulenduva. All my MSS. have in v. 4 *āggaṇījāva*<sup>5</sup>, not *āggaṇījāva*<sup>6</sup> which must be assumed, if we adopt W's translation: "about eight yojanas". If the *yojana* of the M̄ves. is the usual Indian *yojana*, then the distance between the two towns is about 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Pūjāv., if the printed text can be relied on, has *āggaṇāmā*.

<sup>2</sup> *P. rājāvāthācāra* ("possessing great riches") *ānubhākāra*. There is just a doubt whether we have to take the subst. as appellative or with W. as a proper name. I adopt the former and that with reference to the Pūjāv., where we have *rājāvāthācāra* "one great King's Monastery". Thus we must of course read in v. 56 not *Maha*<sup>7</sup> but *ānubhā*<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *P. vāñčikāvāraśilī*; cf. *cittakāma* "varied painting".

<sup>4</sup> In the line *āggaṇījāva* *ānubhā* *āggaṇījāva* *ānubhā* the *āggaṇījāva* refers evidently to width and *ānubhā* to length. The first is the length, the second the breadth of the road. An *ānubhā* is equal to 20 *yojā* = 140 *satma* or *mattha* (roughly = 18 inches), thus 210 ft. = 64 metres. The Pūjāv. gives a very detailed description of the festival of the transference of the relics to the new monastery.

caused it to be strewn throughout its length with fine white sand and adorned on both sides with many flags and pennons strung high by which the sun's rays were warded off; with 6 rows of banana stems and with numbers of filled jars which contained decorations of flowers and were fair with their 7 bright painting. On the whole of this free tract he had erected 8 at a distance of every five cubits a royal arch and at a distance 9 of every ten cubits an arch of stuff as well as at a distance of every hundred cubits<sup>1</sup> a large pīsāda covered with variegated 10 painting, with a high point, three-storeyed and furnished with 11 an image of the perfectly Enlightened One<sup>2</sup>. Then he decorated 12 the vihāra<sup>3</sup> round about the walled-in district of the monastery 13 with many and vast arches which were fair by reason of their variety and gleamed with the grace of the arch of the King 14 of the gods<sup>4</sup>, — further with white umbrellas which resembled 15 the picture of the full moon, — with banners five-fold in hue 16 and of divers form, which were fair as heavenly dancers who dance in the court of the atmosphere — with rows of mayūras set with jewels that sparkled everywhere, which possessed the beauty of a series of many palaces descended from the world of the gods — with rows of figures of Brahma, that danced in lines holding white umbrellas and were beautiful because they were worked by a mechanist<sup>5</sup>, — with divers-hued mechanical figures of the gods which moved to and fro with

<sup>1</sup> Thus at distances of 7½, 15 and 100 ft. *Turya* means the arch spanning the street on festive occasions. As to *pāṭṭaloraya* we must think of the framework of bamboo stalks as being covered with coloured stuffs. We are not told what the *rajedoraya* looked like.

<sup>2</sup> From last end of v. 9 to v. 10 one sentence. Pred. and subj. are at the end. The King erected 1) *rajedoraya*, 2) *pāṭṭaloraya*, 3) *māhūpūḍhāra* on the bevelled surface (*swībhāvataḥ*) between 1. and 2. In the loc. *rule* belong the attributes in 6 cd and in 7 d (*inśyātāt*); to this last belong the instrs. in v. 6 and 7. In v. 9 the loc. *swībhāvataḥ* is rendered collective by *ekāśāya* *ekāśākṛī*.

<sup>3</sup> I anticipate obj. and pred. in 10 d.

<sup>4</sup> The rainbow is considered Indra's weapon. Stress is once more laid on the variegated colouring of the torana.

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "beautiful by the contrivance of a machine".

hands folded before the brows, — with rows of mechanical 17 figures of horses which ran hither and thither and possessed the grace of rows of raging waves of the sea, — with elephants 18 wearing the ornaments of elephants, which were (likewise) mechanical figures feigning to be clouds descended to the earth: — with all these and other votive offerings which called 19 forth ecstasy in people he embellished the vihāra. Then again 20 he made the whole of the inhabitants in Lankā take up their position in a circle round the vihāra, filling the space of a gāruda<sup>1</sup> and giving forth shouts of praise, and glorified the 21 virtues of the perfectly Enlightened One. To these (he added) 22 the bhikkhus and the sāमperas as also the lay brethren and the lay sisters, bearing flowers destined as offerings for the festival of the Buddha and (lastly) all the other men and women who 23 were acquainted with the merits of the three (sacred) objects<sup>2</sup>, with votive offerings in their hands, adorned with all their ornaments. Thereupon the Monarch himself decked out in all 24 his ornaments, accompanied by his four-membred army, urged by his faith, placed the two reliques, the Tooth and the Bowl, on 25 a costly chariot, adorned with every kind of chariot ornament. Then one by one he had displayed before him<sup>3</sup> divers votive offerings, such as flags of gold and flags of silver, golden 26 vessels and silver vessels, fly-whisks of gold and fly-whisks of silver, chests of gold as also silver chests, golden fans and 27 charming silver fans, golden bowls with lotus flowers<sup>4</sup> and 28 bowls of silver with lotus flowers, filled jars<sup>5</sup> which were 29 fashioned of gold and such as were fashioned of silver and so on; and afterwards holding a great sacrificial festival with 30

<sup>1</sup> See note to 73. 154.

<sup>2</sup> See note to 37. 214.

<sup>3</sup> P. *parvā patiśā* (v. 29), that is in single groups or divisions before he himself started.

<sup>4</sup> P. *polikkharaṇi*, i. e. "lotus-pond". We must imagine the basins in which the flowers were borne as being oblong in form like small bathing-ponds.

<sup>5</sup> In the *pupphalasā* which are either carried or set up on festive occasions one sees now specially often the yellow-gold blossoms of the areca palm.

31 these divers (offerings)<sup>1</sup> ever and again to the sound of the  
 32 five musical instruments<sup>2</sup>, he by degrees brought (the relics)  
 33 on this decked out road to the town of Siriratnākara. After  
 34 carefully laying them down in the midst of the vihāra in a  
 35 spacious maghāpāsa on a covered Buddha seat, he set about  
 36 making the various people<sup>3</sup> celebrate a sacrificial festival. In  
 37 the morning all people who had a true thirst<sup>4</sup> for meritorious  
 38 works, adorned with their ornaments, venerated the Tooth  
 39 Relic and the Bowl Relic in religious devotion<sup>5</sup>, with divers  
 kinds of flowers, such as jasmin, campaka blossoms, the blossoms  
 of the ironwood tree<sup>6</sup> and the like, distinguished by their  
 colour and perfume, and which were mingled with flowers of  
 35 gold. They venerated them with heaps of aromatic rice which  
 gleamed like a collection of the long since amassed fame of  
 36 the Great king. They venerated them with divers kinds of  
 fruits, such as bananas, bread-fruit, mangoes and so forth,  
 which were quite ripe, fragrant, lovely in colour, perfectly  
 37 sweet. Then afterwards when the King himself had venerated  
 38 the two most holy relics with all kinds of votive offerings, he  
 39 likewise, true to the good custom, provided the bhikkhu  
 community carefully with food and drink, with dishes solid  
 and tender, with drinks that one sips and with those one  
 39 drinks<sup>7</sup>. Thereupon the Ruler, joyful in heart, distributed to  
 many hundreds of bhikkhus the eight articles of equipment

<sup>1</sup> P. *akhi akhi* (possibly *panītī* also) belongs to the following *kārī-*  
*panītī mahāpāsādī*.

<sup>2</sup> The five instruments are enumerated in Abhp. 189 ff. They are  
*ātāla*, *ātāta* and *ātātarīta*, drums stretched "on the one side", "on  
 the two sides" and "wholly with leather", *āvara*, "tube, pipe", and  
*ghāna* "cymbal".

<sup>3</sup> The various groups of people enumerated in v. 21—23.

<sup>4</sup> P. *parīkṣāyī*. The word *soḍḍha* "drunkard" used here in a figura-  
 tive sense, as also in *duhūkāsāyīdā*, Jät. V. 489<sup>17</sup> (PTE. P. D. n. v.).

<sup>5</sup> P. *bhūtīgī*, see note to 74, 343.

<sup>6</sup> P. *jāti*, *jasminum grandiflorum*, *campaka*, *micelia champaca*, *ñīga*,  
*mesua ferrea*.

<sup>7</sup> *Khaṭṭabhaṭṭajīti* is the more detailed explanation of *āvara* and *feṣṭa-*  
*peyyaṭī* that of *panītī* in the compound *āvaraṇītī*.

in great abundance. After that throughout the three watches 40 of the night he had the whole space round about the vihāra lit up with many hundreds of thousands of lamps burning fragrant oil, with lovely festoons of numberless, tiny, camphor 41 lamps (so that it was) like to the starry firmament. The 42 Monarch instituted a sacrifice for the Buddha<sup>1</sup>. The festival was ravishing by reason of the many exquisite dances and 43 songs of the dancers who on splendid stages<sup>2</sup> erected here and there, performed while assuming different characters<sup>3</sup>, divers dances and sang various songs. The noise<sup>4</sup> of the 44 festival was increased by the sound of the five musical instruments<sup>5</sup> which produced the illusion of the roar of the 45 great ocean of his meritorious works<sup>6</sup> that was so strong that it surpassed<sup>7</sup> the booming of the sea, while the drums shamed the thunder-claps of Pajjanna<sup>8</sup>. The feast resounded with the 46 pious voices of the preachers of the good doctrine who placing themselves on the preachers' seats carefully spread at divers spots by the faithful, hid hold of the beautiful fans<sup>9</sup> and 47 preached the good doctrine that went straight to the heart of

<sup>1</sup> Subj., pred. and obj. *māhūpūta buddhavijaya parattaya* stand at the close of the whole sentence in v. 51 c.d. The preceding verses contain attributes to the object *buddhavijaya*, namely *mānūharap* (v. 42-3), *virāghavīra* (v. 44-5), *ghoshaṇa* (v. 46-7), *māyādīpa* (v. 48-9), *peṇaṇthava* (v. 50-51).

<sup>2</sup> P. *ratnagāvayḍala* — sinh. *ratnagāvayḍala*.

<sup>3</sup> What is meant are the different parts they play. The dances are always mimic in character.

<sup>4</sup> The term "noise" must be supplemented from the foregoing. In the text itself there is only *virāghavīra* directly related to *vijaya*.

<sup>5</sup> See above note to v. 50-51.

<sup>6</sup> Very doubtful. I take *Maṇa* to mean "Error, Illusion", which is also the meaning of the skr. *Maṇīta*. W's translation cannot be reconciled with the text.

<sup>7</sup> Skr. *devākṣaya* can also mean "leaves behind it, surpasses".

<sup>8</sup> Skr. *Varjanya* the God of rain and of the storm. Cf. Jät. I. §81<sup>10</sup> ff.; D. N. II. 260<sup>11</sup>; Mbva. 21. 31.

<sup>9</sup> During solemn ceremonies the priest holds a fan in his right hand and great importance is attached to its being held in a dignified way.

48 their bearers. It was made beautiful by the jubilant cries<sup>1</sup> of the four retinues (of the Buddha)<sup>2</sup> who ever giving grateful  
 49 expression to their joy, went hither and thither praising un-  
 ceasingly with cries of applause the merits of the three (sacred)  
 50 objects with the words: O Buddha! O Doctrine! O Order! Its  
 51 praise was proclaimed by the elders (of the clan) of the  
 52 Balibhojakas<sup>3</sup> arrayed in all their ornaments, who taking their  
 53 stand at the divers regions of the heavens after the custom of a  
 54 Nandin procured<sup>4</sup> without ceasing the blessing of the Buddha.  
 55 With the thought: even in the highest heaven the Prince of  
 56 the gods celebrates such a festival for the Buddha, the Ruler  
 57 had that same ceremony manifested here (on earth), and as  
 58 former kings also, rulers of Sihala, had in their miraculous  
 59 power held even such a sacrificial festival for the Enlightened  
 60 One, so he showed it likewise at the present time to the  
 61 dwellers in Sihala. And so with the words addressed as it  
 62 were to all men: of such kind is the fruit on the wishing-  
 63 creeper<sup>5</sup> of the paramitas<sup>6</sup> of the omniscient (Buddha), he  
 64 celebrated seven days long even such a great sacrificial festival  
 65 for the three (sacred) objects. Then in making the great

<sup>1</sup> P. *śādhanā*. Cf. note to 74. 228.

<sup>2</sup> These are the bhikkhus and bhikkhunis, lay brethren and lay sisters.

<sup>3</sup> See note to 98. 18.

<sup>4</sup> P. *bandhūsantig karuṭṭhi*. The expression *āṇḍīś kar* (skr. *śānti*) shows that the task of the people was to fend off all influences emanating from evil spirits which might disturb the course of the festival. *Abhidharmapurāṇa* is in keeping with this. For in the Indian drama the *āṇḍīś* has in the prologue to deliver the introductory prayer (*māṇḍī*) which is fraught with blessing. Cf. Sree Kowol, *The Indian Drama*, p. 24. We can understand too why the elders of the Balibhojaka clan were entrusted with this office. The name signifies these animals, birds in particular, such as the crows that live on the *balli*, the daily sacrifice offered to the spirits. Such spirits are embodied in these birds and the sacrifice satisfies and conciliates them so that they do no harm.

<sup>5</sup> Also in Skr. *kalpalata* along with *kalparyūpa* etc. of the tree of Paradise on which grows everything that gives joy and delight to mankind.

<sup>6</sup> See note to 37. 180.

vihāra<sup>1</sup> the property of the community and in giving it over to the Order, he filled himself with merit and fame. Thereupon 57 the King erected a pariveya that was called by his name Parakkamabahu, adorned with lofty pāśas, granted the vihāra<sup>2</sup> the divers objects of use suited to it, as well as 58 several rich maintenance villages, and celebrated a great sacrificial feast.

The King made his yuvarāja<sup>3</sup> erect in the Billasela-vihāra 59 the pariveya called Bhuvanekabahu after him, embellished 60 with pāśas, māṇḍapas and the like and then celebrated in the town called Sirivijjhana in the manner described, with 61 all votive offerings with care seven days long a great sacrificial festival for the three (sacred) objects. But also in the splendid 62 town of Hatthigiriipura<sup>4</sup> the King made the same (yuvarāja) erect a vast vihāra, and after having built in his name a superb 63 pariveya, called Mahimabindabahu, he celebrated a great feast of sacrifice and gathered thereby merit. He restored the decayed 64 five-storeyed pāśa built long before in the splendid town of Kalyāṇ by King Yaṭṭhālatissa<sup>5</sup>, and in repairing what was 65 destroyed by having it coated with stucco, he made it again as it had been originally. There too he restored in similar 66 fashion the temple of the recumbent statue of the King of sages and the temple of the Tirabhu image<sup>6</sup>. There too 67 the Ruler had the spacious, four-square courtyard of the great cetiya laid with great stone slabs, making of it a perfectly 68

<sup>1</sup> See note to 85. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Namely the vihāra in which the Parakkamabahu-pariveya was erected. Pariveya and vihāra are thus not used synonymously as W. thinks.

<sup>3</sup> That is his younger brother Bhuvanekabahu, see 82. 4.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. "Elephant mountain town", now Kurunegala.

<sup>5</sup> He was the son of Mahānāga who was the brother of Devānampiyatissa and founder of the dynasty of Rohaṇa, whence arose in the fourth generation Duttibhūmaṇī. (Mhs. 22. 2 ff., 10 ff.). For Kalyāṇ see note to 61. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. note to 78. 38. The images named here are the same as those mentioned in the Sotilikisandesa 69, to which Parakkatitava has already called attention. According to the Ss. there were two of these,

level surface, and then he erected in front of the (cetiya) a  
 69 large mandapa. Further the Ruler with great and religious  
 devotion held several times in that vihāra a sacrificial feast for  
 70 the Bodhi tree, the cetiya and the Enlightened One, with votive  
 offerings of flowers, lamps and food — magnificent, abundant,  
 spreading joy among the people, and acquired thereby merit.  
 71 Thereupon the King granted to the vihāra for the purpose  
 of holding a daily sacrificial festival of lamps, a large, fair,  
 72 delightful garden of cocopalms which he had had laid out in  
 his own name in the immediate neighbourhood of the vihāra.  
 73 Then the two-storeyed, circular relic temple in the vihāra  
 called Hatthavānagalla<sup>1</sup>, erected<sup>2</sup> by the monarch Gotabhaya,  
 74 by name, on the spot where King Sirisamplobodhi gave his  
 75 head as gift to the poor man<sup>3</sup> — this temple the best of kings  
 had repaired and provided with a golden point and made three  
 76 storeys high. In the selfsame monastery he built on the spot  
 where the corpse of his royal father had been laid down<sup>4</sup> a superb  
 77 cetiya. There too he had erected an octagonal image house and had  
 78 a stone image of the Buddha set up in it. The glorious King heard  
 that of that son of the Enlightened One<sup>5</sup>, the Thera Muhākassapa,  
 79 who had received during the lifetime of the Enlightened One —  
 the Guide to the path of salvation — the Master of the worlds —  
 his most holy garment of rags as heritage<sup>6</sup> and after his death  
 80 had taken over the spiritual kingship and protected it — (that)  
 of this Muhākassapa a single relic, a tooth, (existed and) in

<sup>1</sup> Now Attāvanagalla on the small river of the same name, about 18 or 20 miles north-east of Colombo.

<sup>2</sup> Hatthavānagallavihāravapañ 9, 7 (p. 32 of the edition by Ainslie). Here the building is described as Maenam rāgālaya.

<sup>3</sup> Mhv. 96, 91 ff. should be compared with this. The history of Sirisamplobodhi's end is told in greater detail in the Hatthavānagalla-vihāravapañ 8 (p. 26 ff. of the ed.) and embellished with many miraculous tales.

<sup>4</sup> Namely on the pyre. The corpses of the kings were disposed of by burning.

<sup>5</sup> Buddha's disciples are described as his spiritual sons.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. for this Saṃyutta 16, 11, 28 f. (II, 221), and the remarks to my translation of the S. N. II, p. 270 and 284.

course of time had come to Tambapāṇī and was now preserved 81 in the vihāra of Bhimatittha in the province of Pañcasayojana<sup>1</sup>. Thereupon the King in whom there sprang up religious devotion, 82 love and highest veneration towards that Thera<sup>2</sup>, betook himself, surrounded by his four-membered army to the great monastery 83 and after he had beheld there the splendid (relic), he celebrated full of joy with an immeasurable quantity of beautiful kinds 84 of fragrant flowers and likewise with lamps and incense and heaps of rice, with great care for three days a sacrificial festival for the Tooth Relic. Then when the Monarch learned 85 that in the sacred town of Devanagara which was a mine of meritorious works, the shrine long since erected to the lotus-hued god — the King of the gods, had now fallen into decay, 86 he betook himself to the superb town and in rebuilding the 87 dwelling of the King of the gods like to the heavenly mansion of the King of the gods<sup>3</sup>, he made of it an abode of all riches. Then the best of men had the town filled with all 88 splendours even as the beauteous city of the gods<sup>4</sup>. Hereupon 89 he determined to celebrate every year in the town an Āśāḥi festival<sup>5</sup> for the god.

Now the Great king betook himself to the splendid town 90 of Jambuddapi. Here he had built round the Sirivijayasundara- 91 vihāra<sup>6</sup> erected by his royal father, a high wall and gate-towers and then had the three-storeyed relic temple restored<sup>7</sup>. 92

<sup>1</sup> Now Bentota on the coast between Colombo and Galle. For Pañcasayojana see note to 87, 71.

<sup>2</sup> That is towards Mahākassapa. W. erroneously associates this with "the elder who had the charge thereof".

<sup>3</sup> The word *devarājālaya* is twice used here. The temple of the King of the gods (Viṣṇu) in Devanagara is made as beautiful as the palace of the King of the gods (in this case Indra) in heaven.

<sup>4</sup> P. *devarājālaya* is in allusion to its namesake, the town of Viṣṇu's shrine.

<sup>5</sup> P. *āśāḥi*, -ī is the name of the month June-July. The day of the full moon of this month was one of high festival even before the time of Buddha (Jūt. I. 80). Buddha was born on that day.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above 81. 51 where the monastery is called Vijayasundarārāma.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. with this 82. 9 ff.

There he placed the Tooth Relic of the Great Sage on a raised  
 93 throne of great value and celebrated in the order described  
 above, for seven days a great sacrificial feast for the three  
 (sacred) objects which procure every conceivable blessing. With  
 94 the wish to have daily before his eyes a figure of the Guide  
 to the path of salvation, as rejoicing to the heart as the  
 95 figure of the living Master, the Lord of men had portrayed<sup>1</sup> by  
 numbers of specially skilled painters on a great tablet a splendid  
 96 Buddha figure, showing<sup>2</sup> the Exalted One as he took when alive  
 an airing in a large jewelled cloister set with divers precious  
 97 stones. Hereupon the King of high renown gathered together  
 the whole Order of the bhikkhus dwelling on the island of  
 98 Lankā as well as a multitude of people and celebrated in the  
 town of Srivajjhāna in the manner described earlier, for  
 seven days a great festival for the Buddha.

99 Now when the Great king heard that unimaginable blessing  
 attaches to a *kaṭhina*<sup>3</sup> offering, he thought, joyful of  
 100 heart in faith: "In honour of the eighty greatly glorious  
 disciples<sup>4</sup> of him who is alone the bridge over the shoreless  
 terrible ocean of the circle of rebirths, who alone is the  
 101 banner of the Sakya clan<sup>5</sup>, whose dignity is venerated by the  
 people of the whole world, the Wise, the King of the wise,  
 the Master, the preserver of the world, the seer, who is master  
 (of his senses), the kinsman of the world<sup>6</sup>, the kinsman of

<sup>1</sup> P. *māhātītappā* . . . *lakṣitpā*. Probably the picture was painted  
 on a piece of stuff. In the Pūjāv. where the picture is also described,  
 the expression *paṭikā* is used, according to Croyon, "piece of cloth on  
 which an image of Buddha is painted". Mvrs. 27, 18 ff., relates that the  
 picture after which the Lohapāsāda was built, was designed on a *pāta*.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. a Buddha figure like the Exalted One walking . . . taking an  
 airing in a cloister. The *ca* in 95 a is disturbing. Perhaps one should  
 read *ca* (= *ca*).

<sup>3</sup> See note to 41, 43. Parikkhāmubhānu's *kaṭhina* offering is also  
 related in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

<sup>4</sup> See note to 37, 176.

<sup>5</sup> Round the banner (petā) the clan gathers; the word is therefore  
 used figuratively for "leader, chief, the highest". Cf. skr. *māsavyavakata*,  
 Rāghavāyan. 2, 38. The Buddha represents the name of the Sakya clan.

<sup>6</sup> P. *lobhabandhu*. So called on account of his world-embracing love.

the sun<sup>1</sup> — (in honour of his eighty disciples) I will give a great and splendid kathina offering of eighty (robes).<sup>2</sup>" The wise (prince) then called together the whole of the men and women dwelling on the island of Lankā and made them all carry out in the shortest time the whole of the work (for the making) of (these) garments beginning with the preparation of the cotton. And on one day he gave away together with all the useful and important wares<sup>3</sup>, the eighty kathina robes. But after he had prepared all this and versed in offering, had distributed it among all the theras dwelling in Tambapanni<sup>4</sup>, he held for the eighty great disciples, for each one of them, on the same day, eighty great sacrificial feasts. In this way he often bestowed many kathinas on the Great community and increased thereby his great merit.

And the King thought several times with longing joyful through faith: "I will dedicate to the Enlightened One the royal dignity of Lankā."<sup>5</sup> He adorned in fitting manner his royal palace like the palace of the Lord of the gods and the town like the city of the gods. Then he placed the Tooth Relic of the Great Sage (Buddha) on a costly lion's seat which he had fashioned in the royal abode, and with divers fly-whisks and umbrellas, with divers jewelled crowns, with divers ornaments and robes, with divers heaps of jewels, with divers elephants and steeds, with divers infantry and chariots, with divers beatings of drums, and divers sounds of shell trumpets, with divers flags and pennons, with divers rows of banana trees, with divers bowls of milk<sup>6</sup>, with divers trees in blossom, with divers splendidly fragrant wreaths, with divers superb

<sup>1</sup> P. *Mitthabandhu*. Because like the sun he illumines the whole world, at the same time also because (cf. W., note), the princely house of the Sakyas is said to belong to the dynasty of the sun. The synonym *Adiccasandhu* is a frequent name of the Buddha. Buddhaghosa explains it in *Suttanipata* 916 by *adiccasat gatthabandhu* (Hansen Sati, *Puramontthajotika*, p. 562).

<sup>2</sup> See 84. 20 and note.

<sup>3</sup> See note to 80. 26.

<sup>4</sup> P. *Abhavatālu*. Lit. "pools of milk". The explanation is similar to that of *sāvapakkhavat* in 85. 28. See the note.

116 palanquines, with divers kinds of excellent rice, with divers splendid kinds of cake, with divers superb lamps, frankincense and perfumes — with all these and other votive offerings  
 117 worthy of a king, he celebrated with care, after assembling the Great community of the bhikkhus dwelling on the island of Lankā for seven days a great sacrificial feast.

118 The best of kings also beook himself with his four-membered forces to the Samantakūṭa<sup>1</sup>, this forehead jewel of  
 119 the rock mountains. There he venerated the foot-print — to be venerated by gods and other beings — of the highest God  
 120 of gods<sup>2</sup>, the King of truth, the Master. Round about the monarch of the mountains he granted to the extent of ten  
 121 gāvutas<sup>3</sup> the land rich in various precious stones and thickly peopled with men and women, in religious devotion to the sacred foot-print and sacrificed to it again with ornaments of jewels.

122 Thus did the discerning King who had faith in the Buddha, annex a great quantity of meritorious works as bridge for the crossing of the ocean of the circle of rebirths, or as ladder with which to reach the highest heaven.

Here ends the eighty-fifth chapter, called «The Performance of all Kinds of Pious Works», in the Mahāvansā, compiled for the sārom joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The pilgrimage to Adam's Peak is mentioned in the Pñjāv.

<sup>2</sup> The title *devatāpura* for the Buddha which already occurs in Mhv. I, 57, points again to a later stage of development. Cf. note to 60, 60.

<sup>3</sup> That is about 20 miles.

## CHAPTER LXXXVI

INCITEMENT TO THE PERFORMANCE OF ALL KINDS  
OF PIOUS WORKS

Thereupon the King thought: "Since I now wield the royal dominion over all *Lankā*, it is indeed for me a heavy burden<sup>1</sup> to make pilgrimages hither and thither and to venerate<sup>2</sup> according to one's desire the hallowed places, to perform daily meritorious works and to care for the welfare of the world. But which of my dignitaries has the capacity to accumulate<sup>3</sup> a blessing of merit which would be equal to my aspiration and to care (likewise) for the welfare of the world? Now<sup>4</sup> there is my dignitary *Devappetirāja* by name, a true believer in the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Community. When he<sup>5</sup> was striving after the dignity of a Guide to the path of salvation, made the firm resolve<sup>6</sup>, straightway there sprung from the three<sup>6</sup> eyes of a coconut planted by him three shoots. Once when he beheld a poor man to whom mercy was the highest, gave him all his possessions together with children and wives<sup>7</sup> and uttered the wish: I will be a Buddha. Therefore when<sup>8</sup> he shall have heard my wish he will fulfil it." So thinking, he had him summoned and spake to him thus: "By swamp,<sup>9</sup> mountain and wilderness as though created by the powerful<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> *P. māra*. The idea is this: the meritorious tasks which I have taken upon myself are too much for me alone. I must look round for helpers who will work with and for me with the same ideas and objects.

<sup>2</sup> Namely that the miracle described in 61 and 62 should be manifested as sign of the fulfilment of his wish to become one day a Buddha. Cf. 50, 65, 85, 119 and notes.

<sup>3</sup> *P. rāsorattin*. An epithet of Mūra, also in *Thūpavacana* 66<sup>12</sup>, with

unwelcome Mūra, the road leading to the Sumana mountain<sup>1</sup> 10 is at many places obstructed, (made) inaccessible and causes difficulties to the people of the eighteen provinces who make 11 a pilgrimage thither in order to accumulate blessing by 12 venerating the footprint of the Sage. Do thou therefore make 13 it accessible. Further: I have heard that in the vihāra called 14 Huttanavagalla<sup>2</sup>, at the spot where a Grand them gifted 15 with miraculous powers, making through the majesty of his 16 merit earth and air to resound with thunder, attained the 17 dignity of an arahant, a five-storeyed pāsāda with a roofing 18 of golden bricks erected by King Upatissa<sup>3</sup>, has in the course 19 of time fallen into decay, so that now nought but the pillars 20 remain. Do thou also restore this in my name. And just as 21 King Nissanka laid out a garden of fruit-trees in the Bhūma- 22 tthavihāra<sup>4</sup>, do thou also plant in the same manner in my 23 name a large garden full of cocopalms and other trees". With 24 these words he entrusted him with each single meritorious 25 undertaking<sup>5</sup>.

18 Devappatiñja agreed with "aye!" and betook himself in the first place to Gaṅgasipura<sup>6</sup>. There he had fashioned a 19 magnificent image of Sumaṇḍeva<sup>7</sup> furnished with all the fair 20 bodily signs and decked it out with ornaments of gold and 21 jewels. But after that he wished to visit the Samantakūṭa<sup>8</sup>. He 22 took the image of the god (Sumana) along with him in

reference to the parantūtterāsāṇḍidhāri who are Māra's retinue and are themselves described as Māras.

<sup>1</sup> Name of Adam's Peak.

<sup>2</sup> See 85. 73 and note.

<sup>3</sup> We do not know which Upatissa is meant, for neither the first king of this name (37. 179 ff.) nor the second (41. 6) has such a building ascribed to him.

<sup>4</sup> See 85. 81 and note. There is an account of the parks laid out by Kittinissanka in 89. 26 (and in the Rājāv.).

<sup>5</sup> We must of course write truptaṇḍapāññabriyāda.

<sup>6</sup> According to Pūjāv. = Gampala, now Gampola situated about 11 miles to the south of Kandy. Cf. 88. 49, 90. 107.

<sup>7</sup> The local guardian spirit of Adam's Peak. See Mhv. I. 33.

<sup>8</sup> = Sumanekūṭa. See note to 80. 64.

festive procession<sup>1</sup>, set forth, betook himself first to the village 21 Bodhitala and began from here to build bridges. Here at the 22 mouth<sup>2</sup> he made a large and magnificent bridge of thirty-five cubits, and over the Khajjotanadi one of thirty cubits, likewise at Ullapanaggūma one of thirty-six cubits, at Ambaggūma 23 one of thirty-four cubits in length<sup>3</sup>. (The bridges were) very 24 strong and good so that elephants, horses, cattle and buffaloes could pass over them. And above each single embankment of 25 the bridges he had fair houses built, adorned with lofty pillars and the like, had invitations sent to numbers of bhikkhus, 26 gathered them together at different places, distributed among them abundant alms and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. He built rest-houses, finished the building of bridges, laid 27 down at the remaining places frequent stepping-stones<sup>4</sup>, had 28 the wilderness cleared and (in this way) a great road built. Then he betook himself to the Samantakūṭa, showed veneration to the sacred footprint, set up in the courtyard of the cetiyu 29 of the sacred footprint the image of the god (Sumana) and erected a madapā for the holy footprint. Round about it he 30 had a wall built, and discerning as he was, had the madapā fastened with strong chains to iron pillars in this wise to 31

<sup>1</sup> P. *assādītātāraha*. Pājūv. has *paraharīm* "with a procession".

<sup>2</sup> P. *makkhūcāravati*. The mode of expression is not quite clear. W. translates: "and nigh unto the mouth of the Khajjotu river he built a bridge . . . and . . . across the same river". This is indeed difficult to reconcile with the original text. We have to think of these bridges as causeways between the rice fields (cf. *asphandala* in v. 26). The numbers are, taken in order, roughly 52, 46, 64, 51 ft.

<sup>3</sup> Derappatirūpa proceeds from Gampola up the left bank of the Mahāveliganga. Ullapanaggūma is the modern Ulapana (4 m from Gampola as the crow flies). Ambaggūma is the present Ambagamavu (6 m from Ulapana). The Khajjotu river is called in Pājūv. *Kayyendhīhoya* [we have to read this instead of -hoyel. Sinh. *kayyamādiri* means "glow-worm", like the P. *khajjotu*. It is curious that the farther course of the road is not described. It probably led over to the valley of the Kaduligūma river and then ascended this valley. See note to 60. 66 and below v. 41.

<sup>4</sup> At marshy spots where no causeway could be built, to give firm foothold.

secure it, and then again he sacrificed for three days to the sacred footprint with lamps and the like. He himself placed on his head a lamp with fragrant oil, and venerating again and again in the name of his Master the Great king and walking round the sacred footprint with his right side towards it, he spent the whole night. Hereupon he had this whole occurrence in its true sequence from the beginning written down on a lofty stone pillar and had this monument of the glory of the Great king of kings Parakkamabahu set up with rejoicing. Thereupon he informed the King of the whole occurrence by the mouth of a messenger and sent (the message) off, since his wishes had been completely carried out.

After that Devapputirāja betook himself to the Hatthavasagalla-vihāra and had erected there at great cost, in the manner commanded by the King, a three-storeyed pāsāda with a lofty point and gave it over to the Grand master<sup>1</sup>, the wise Anomadassī by name. Then he celebrated according to the order of the Great king, an almsgiving and had a stone inscription put up.

Thereupon the High dignitary betook himself to the landing-place Bhūmatīttha and built at the mouth of the Kalapadī a bridge of eighty-six cubits<sup>2</sup>. Then after building at Kadaliṣenagāma<sup>3</sup> a bridge of a hundred staves<sup>4</sup> and over the river of Sāṅggāma one of forty staves<sup>5</sup> and over the

<sup>1</sup> P. mahāsīna. Cf. with this note to B6. 23. Anomadassī was the Superior (abbot) of the monastery.

<sup>2</sup> The Kālpadī is the present Kaluganga. The length of the bridge is about 139 ft., the mouth of the Kaluganga is however considerably wider than that.

<sup>3</sup> If Kadaliṣenagāma is the same as Kadaliṅgāma in B6. 08, the building of the bridge was a continuation of the road to Adam's Peak. The identity of the two is however very questionable. W. suggests Kehellenava in the Kulatam District, Rayiganu Konda, Pūjāv. has Kēlōnāva.

<sup>4</sup> The calculation according to patthī "rod, measuring rod" here is curious. According to B6. 03 (cf. the note to the passage) a yuttī equals 5 mattha. The two measurements in v. 41 would accordingly be 750 and 800 ft. respectively.

Salapādapa swamp one of a hundred and fifty cubits<sup>1</sup> and in addition to these other bridges here and there at difficult places, and numerous parks and sermon halls, he celebrated 43 once more a great festival of almsgiving.

And again the High dignitary of the King had laid out 44 from the Bhimati-tha-vihāra as far as the landing-place (of the Kulanadi)<sup>2</sup> on a space a yojana broad, a great garden of 45 cocopalms, called after Parakkunubhū, beautifully shady and rich in fruit. Then having all the work in the different 46 districts, such as the spinning of the cotton and so forth, undertaken and finished in a day, the highly-famed one 47 presented the bhikkhu community with six and twenty kāthina robes and celebrated therewith a great sacrificial festival. Giving in like manner, he wandering around here and there, 48 presented the bhikkhu community once again with sixty-six kāthina robes.

Then he had the whole of the vast forest called Ma- 49 halabujagaccha<sup>3</sup> cleared by the roots, a fine village built there and in its neighbourhood a large grove of jack-trees<sup>4</sup> planted. 50 Then he erected there in the name of the King an image house of three storeys, surrounded by bodhi tree, cetiya, park 51 and encircling wall and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. Having thus performed in the name of his royal Master<sup>5</sup> much 52 meritorious work, he informed the King of everything on his return.

Now was the King filled with great affection for him. He 53 made the village called Mahālabujagaccha and other villages built by him his hereditary property and granted them to 54

<sup>1</sup> Roughly 225 ft. W. gives the number as "fifty". He has overlooked the *sata* in *satahatthasatu*.

<sup>2</sup> Kāludīthu, now Kalutara. Cf. 56. 12 and note. The distance between Bentota and Kalutara is 12 miles. The breadth of the plantation would be 9 miles, if the Indian yojana is meant.

<sup>3</sup> Pūjāv. *Mahādelys* nāmātū mahāmaya. Sībh. *dat* is the name of the bread-fruit tree *artocarpus incisa*. — P. *labuja*.

<sup>4</sup> Pūjāv. *kesānayak*. Sībh. *kes* is *artocarpus integrifolia*. — P. *panna*.

<sup>5</sup> P. *rājāñāmāmata* stands here in the same sense as *mahārājasa* *nāmātū* in v. 32 or *mādrājāvīyagata* in v. 30 or *rājāñāmātū* in v. 51.

him. Thereupon he betook himself with him to the temple  
 55 of the Tooth Relic and spake thus in the midst of the  
 community: "This my most excellent dignitary has at all  
 times been true of heart to me and to the three (sacred) objects.  
 56 Therefore because activity for the welfare of the Buddha and  
 of the King was for him the highest, is he dear to me and  
 57 precious. Therefore will I with a gift dear to me make a  
 sacrifice to the Tooth Relic". And he dedicated the excellent  
 dignitary with wife and children to the Tooth Relic of the  
 Sage.

58 In such wise did the protector of the middle world from  
 that times make that same most excellent Devapputriñja  
 celebrate continually with many costly votive gifts, sacrificial  
 festivals to the world-extolled Triad of the jewels.

Here ends the eighty-sixth chapter, called «The Incitement  
 to the Performance of all Kinds of Pious Works», in the  
 Mahāvagga, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the  
 pious.

## CHAPTER LXXXVII

## THE HANDING OVER OF THE BURDEN OF DOMINION

Now once upon a time when through the influence of evil 1  
 planets a great heat arose in Lankā by which everything was  
 burnt up, when the corn withered and a famine was inevitable 2  
 and the whole of the people dwelling in Lankā were filled  
 with the greatest anxiety, the King gave orders for a splendid 3  
 festival to be held for the three (sacred) objects, for the cetiyas  
 and the bodhi trees and for the protectors Metteya and other  
 miracle-working highest deities<sup>1</sup> who were to be venerated by 4  
 various offerings, and even to turn the whole of Lankā into  
 one great festival<sup>2</sup>. After antecedent sacrificial ceremonies, he 5  
 gathered together the Great community of the bhikkhus, caused  
 them recite the Paritta<sup>3</sup> and bear the Tooth Relic of the 6  
 Great sage round the town in fitting manner, the right  
 side turned towards it, and made (in firm faith) the resolve:  
 the heavens shall rain. Thereupon great clouds gathered on 7  
 every side, flashing with lightning and again and again  
 thundering, so that it was bliss for the ears of all people, 8  
 and they began to rain, destroying the glowing heat, making 9

<sup>1</sup> For *devatideva* used here of the future Buddhas at the head of whom stands Metteya, cf. note to 85, 119.

<sup>2</sup> The construction is difficult. W. merely translates freely according to the sense. We must take the words *varāpetiyā* and *anubhāraya* twice, first *uttamayā anubhāraya varāpetiyā* (namely for the things and persons mentioned in 3 and 4) and then *abbayi Lankāya ekayā anubhāraya varāpetiyā*. For this last cf. idioms like *raiko yet' eko* "pure murder and blodshed", M. II, 244<sup>3</sup>; *ekhāsa dīvi salīr vībhāya*, Mhv. 74, 219, JāC. V, 194<sup>4</sup> etc.

<sup>3</sup> See note to 46, 6.

joyful the people, driving away the famine, beautifying the country and reviving the corn<sup>1</sup>.

10 "By the power of the Buddha do these rain-clouds pour forth such rain, making joyful our hearts. Who therefore among gods, brahmas and men is capable of understanding how great are these excellent qualities of the Buddha? But our King also is mighty and strong in miraculous power, a king like 13 to him there has not been and there will not be." With such words ever and again repeated, the dwellers in Lankā praised the excellence of the Monarch of sages and also the excellence of their King.

14 While in this wise the King protecting Order and laity in 15 justice and filling with precious contents his own character, enjoyed for long the good fortune of the royal dignity, he on one occasion summoned to him along with his sister's son, Virabāhu, his five capable sons — Vijayabāhu, Bhuvanekabāhu<sup>2</sup>, 17 Tibhuvanamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu — and began in 18 this wise to give these six advice: "Dear ones, hearken to my words: there are here in the world these three (kinds) of sons: the low kind, those of like kind, those of higher kind<sup>3</sup>. 19 Now those who know not how to enjoy at its true worth<sup>4</sup> the wealth of their parents which has come to them as a family 20 heritage, but destroy it, as monkeys a wreath of flowers, and now live without wealth — the pious ancients have called 'sons 21 of a low kind'. But those who enjoy such possessions as they have received them in like manner as their fathers, protecting them as a family heritage, these ye must know are the (sons)

<sup>1</sup> The removal of a drought by the exhibition of the Tooth Relic is also described in the Bājūv.

<sup>2</sup> The two brothers Vijayabāhu and Bhuvanekabāhu are mentioned together in an inscription found in Yāpahā. H. C. P. Bell, ASC. 1911-12 = S. P. III. 1915, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "lower (similar, higher) born or become". Cf. skr. *anyjita* and *anyājita*. The three kinds are distinguished in the same way in the *Itivuttaka*, p. 63<sup>1</sup>, 64<sup>1</sup>. For *anyājita* cf. also DhCp. I. 178<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> P. *gṛhītāvānādhikate*. W's translation "by a virtuous life" is too weak and too general. The idea is: they are not conscious of how valuable is the heritage that has come to them, they squander it frivolously.

of like kind.' But yet another kind I name — those who 22 besides the possessions taken over as family heritage, acquire thereto many other possessions and as prudent people enjoy 23 in happiness — these are known as the 'sons of higher kind'. From my father I have inherited alone (the province of) 24 Māyārattha<sup>1</sup> but have now again conquered the two other provinces and brought the three kingdoms completely under 25 one umbrella. All the Damiyas who were for him invincible; I have vanquished and all the kings of the Vanni<sup>2</sup> dwelling 26 here and there in mountain and wilderness I have brought over to my side. Having spread my fame everywhere also in 27 foreign lands, I have for long held sway in just fashion. I 28 have brought hither king's daughters from Jambudipa with gifts and thereby made the nobles in the foreign land your kinsmen. The heroes of the Pappus and the Colas, the kings 29 sprung from the dynasties of the Sun and Moon, have sent me diadems and ornaments. Also have I gathered together 30 without ceasing a mass of jewels which can be enjoyed not only by all of you here, but even in future time by seven 31 generations of my descendants, even as the (god) Kubera (gathered together) his nine treasures, the shell and the rest<sup>3</sup>. I have put down the evil-doers and protected the honest and 32 brought unanimity to the Order of the Enlightened One. Therefore have I become for my royal father a higher born 33 son, be ye also my sons, like me, higher born sons. As in 34 days of old the sixty thousand sons of King Sagara<sup>4</sup> of the race of Okkaka, built as many towns, divided all land in 35

<sup>1</sup> See note to 81. 15 and 46.

<sup>2</sup> See note to 81. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The nine treasures of Kubera are, according to Apte (Skr. Eng. Dict. s. v. *varasiddhi*); cf. also *Amarakosha*, ed. W. L. Westcott Puskar, v. 142: 1) *mahāpadma* "great lotus flower", 2) *padma* "lotus flower", 3) *śrīkha* "shell", 4) *madara* "dolphin", 5) *kacchapa* "tortoise", 6) *ma-*  
*kuṇḍa* "a particular precious stone", 7) *kunda* "jasmine", 8) *mīla* "sapphire", 9) *kharṣa* "dwarf". The names are also personified as names of genii who are guardians of the treasures in question. Cf. Horiss, Epic Mythology, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> For the legend of the Sagara, see *Mahābhārata*, III. 106 ff.

Jambudipa into sixty thousand parts and held sway each for  
 36 himself in harmony; — further as aforetime the ten brothers,  
 the kings, divided Jambudipa into ten parts and ruled in wise  
 37 fashion; so shall ye, my sons, divide this Laṅkâ and supporting<sup>1</sup>  
 38 one another as is fitting, hold sway in able fashion, but never  
 expose a weakness to the enemy." In this wise he admonished  
 his own sons and his sister's son.

39 Herenpon he summoned the Great community in great  
 numbers<sup>2</sup> and the King asked them: "Which of these six  
 40 princes, my sister's son and my own sons, is worthy of the  
 royal crown?" When the Great community heard these words  
 41 of the King, they expressed themselves thus: "O Great king  
 thy princely sons and this thy sister's son are all capable  
 42 men and well instructed; they are all practised in fighting,  
 crushers of the alien foe and worthy of the royal crown as  
 43 protectors of the laity and the Order. But thy eldest son  
 Vijayabâhu has from childhood believed with joy in the triad  
 44 of the jewels. His heart was ever set on the care of infirm  
 bhikkhus, he was trustworthy, grateful, gifted with the merits  
 45 of faith and discernment. He was a support for such as had  
 no support, ever abounding in pity for aged people and  
 46 suffering creatures. Many kinsmen by marriage of the bhikkhu  
 community who had become enslaved during the period of  
 47 alien dominion<sup>3</sup> and many other people he freed from their  
 slavery by the gift to their masters of gold, precious stones  
 48 and other valuables. Many thieves who had committed thefts  
 even in the royal palace, turned to him when punishment

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the MSS. pâyantâ ought not to be changed into sîranta. I assume that pâyati has here a causative meaning "to make go, to further, to support".

<sup>2</sup> Not "the chief priests and the people", as W. has it. Mahâbhâga is in opposition to mahâsaṅghaya. The "people" have nothing to do with the question of the succession. In the sequel it is the priesthood alone who give the answer. Cf. also v. 51.

<sup>3</sup> P. râjantara. See note to 81. 1. It is the time of the reign of Mâgha (end of Jayabâhu, 82. 27, 88. 19) that is meant. W. has misunderstood the passage in translating "when he took the government into his hands".

overtake them. They gave up their anguish and their fear 49 and unharmed, without suffering the loss of a limb<sup>1</sup>, their lives were spared. 'When O King! he beheld the people who 50 went forth to each village to collect<sup>2</sup> the taxes due to the King, he gave his own money, freed thus from various dues 51 all people in distress and protected them continuously, versed in the protection of subjects. Also many of the Śilāla kings 52 of the Vanni whom thou wast desirous of subduing, sought him out first and then only did they fearless pay their visit to thee. 53 Ye must henceforth serve for ever with devotion<sup>3</sup> Vijayabāhu 54 who will in the future protect the continuation of our race, 55 thus are the wives in the families of the dignitaries wont in all reverence to adorner their husbands. When fathers and 56 mothers, fail to listen to the sweet infant voices of their two year and three year old children, ask them: 'Whom do ye 56 serve?' they say: 'We wish to serve Vijayabāhu'. Children 57 beaten in wrath by father and mother come to him and tell their woe. Then Vijayabāhu makes the parents come to him, 58 exhorting them in his pity to beat their children no longer and 59 lets them have from his own storehouse the necessary food for their various children. How canst thou O King, — even 60 as a man who gifted with seeing eyes, looks at the heavens where the full moon stands and yet asks where is then the full moon? — knowing as thou dost that in Vijayabāhu the 61 merits dwell which constitute the ornament of the royal dignity, yet ask the Order? Learn then O Great king! that he 62 possesses the lucky signs to hold sway not only over Jāñkā- 63 dipa but even over Jambudipa.'

After the Ruler had heard of these and his many other 63 merits from the mouth of the community, his eyes became moist with tears of joy therent. Full of contentment he 64 summoned to him his son Vijayabāhu, made him sit on a seat

<sup>1</sup> P. *āgahāsi*.

<sup>2</sup> Wrongly translated by W. It is not a case of people exacting the taxes, but of the revenue officers who wished to collect them.

<sup>3</sup> P. *āśaṅkhit*. Cf. with this the term *bhāti* = skr. *bhakti*, note to 76. 243.

65 (like his own) near him, and then the Great king informed him of all that must still be carried out for the laity and 66 the Order and which had not yet been done by himself. "The Ratanāvalī-etiya<sup>1</sup> destroyed by alien foes, thou shalt restore 67 and adorn it with a golden point. Polathinagara, that splendid ornament of all towns,<sup>2</sup> which was the ancient royal city of 68 the Sihala sovereigns, do thou restore as it was of yore, with high walls and gate-towers, with four gates well distributed, 69 and surrounded by a deep trench; and do thou bring thither to the former relic temple, fair as a heavenly palace, the two 70 reliques of the Tooth and the Bowl. In this royal city of former 71 kings I wish myself to celebrate the high festival of the royal consecration. But do thou bring the whole bhikkhu community in great number<sup>3</sup>, dwelling in the three Sihala provinces, to Sabassatittha<sup>4</sup>, let them there after antecedent 72 sacrifice, celebrate in the Mahāvīkāgāṅga the festival of admission to the Order and thus make the Order of the Victor prosperous.

73 After speaking thus and otherwise of all that was to be done for the laity and the Order, he gave over the burden of government into his hands.

74 And further the King entrusted him with the five remaining sons of the royal house, and the two sacred reliques of the holy Sage, the Tooth and the Bowl, as also with the host of the ascetics, with the group of all the dignitaries and also the land of Lanḍā.

Here ends the eighty-seventh chapter, called 'The Handing over of the Burden of Dominion', in the Mahāvīkāgaṅga, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> See note to 80. 68.

<sup>2</sup> P. *subhūpūrītilāla*. The word *tilaka* ("insigne of a sect") has here (as so often also skr. *tilaka*) a figurative meaning "ornament, adornment".

<sup>3</sup> For *bhikkhuṇyāgāmī mahaṭṭājanap* cf. note to v. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Now Dastota, a ford over the Mahāvīkāgaṅga south of Polonnaruva. That the bhikkhus were fond of performing their ceremonies in a building erected in the water at some distance from the bank is well known. Dastota was at that time a spot considered especially sacred where such ceremonies were performed with great pomp, as is shown also in 89. 47 ff.

## CHAPTER LXXXVIII

## THE REBUILDING OF PULATHINAGARA

Fearless in heart, King Vijayabāhu gave his consent and I took over the burden of the government. Now he thought: 2 "I will show my father so long as he is in life, that I am a son of the higher kind." And he probed ever further: "Who 3 is there now fitted to be the element 'friend' among the seven elements of government, as ruler, minister, friend and the like<sup>1</sup>: trustworthy, a clever counsellor, a comrade in misfortune, who 4 speaks the truth, who is good to me?" And he realised: 5 "There is the Ādipāda Virabāhu, the son of my father's sister, well-bred, adorned with virtues, skilled in all tasks. Since the time when we played (together) in the sand till 6 to-day he has showed the highest confidence in me and in (all) good people. He cannot bear to stand anywhere if he 7 does not see me, and I also cannot bear to take a seat without seeing him. He is at pains even as I, to further the laity and 8 the Order, richly dowered with mental and bodily power. Therefore is he fitted for the element friend". He summoned 9 him to him and entrusted him with the position of a devoted friend.

<sup>1</sup> The *satta rājñigāni* are enumerated in Abhpil. 350. They are: *ādī* "ruler, monarch", *āmīcī* "minister", *vakī* "friend", *īsava* "state treasurer", *diggaṇī* "fortress", *vijīvī* "land, kingdom" and *balīvī* "army". In the Kautilya, they are enumerated at the beginning of Book 6 as the (sapti) *prakṛitīṣ*: *svāyamātṛīṣ* *āṇapadeśīṣ* *śreyasādāyūṣ* *mītrīṣ*. Why J. J. Meyer in his translation should have left out *āṇapadeśīṣ* (p. 397) I cannot understand. Cf. Ib. p. 399<sup>2</sup>, as well as R. Sivasamudram, Kautilya's Arthashastra, trsl., p. 919. In Śenūra's *Āśidhikāṇappadipikāśtei* a verse is quoted from Kāmandaki in which the same terms are grouped together.

10 Then he thought: "Now I must perform a meritorious work — splendid, sublime, rejoicing the heart. I was entrusted 11 with the two relics, the Tooth and the Bowl. For these I must now build a new temple. On the other hand, the an- 12 cient relic temple erected by my royal forefathers<sup>1</sup>, has fallen 13 into decay. This I will restore." With this consideration, he had 14 fetched from all parts many groups of artists experienced in 15 every branch of art and many other workmen; and erecting 16 new structures doubly as fair to look at as the former build- 17 ings, he completed the whole temple of the Tooth Relic, so 18 that it was beauteous as a heavenly palace; placed there the 19 two relics of the Enlightened One and ordered his own guard 20 to institute day by day a great sacrificial festival richer than 21 aforetime, for the relics. From this time onward the King 22 succeeded in making the love of his royal father (for him) 23 increase continuously, twofold and threefold.

24 Thought the Ruler; my royal father shall have no grief 25 arising from the separation from his sons, and he made his 26 two younger brothers, Parakkamalâha and Jayabâhu, dwell 27 continually near their father. Hereupon he summoned his 28 younger brother Tilokamalla and placed under his command 29 all the Sihâta troops quartered in the space between the town 30 of Jambuddoyi and the southern sea and made him take up 31 his abode in Mahâvatthalagâma<sup>2</sup>, to protect his royal father 32 on the south. Then he reflected: "In the north, foes coming 33 from the opposite coast are wont to land in Khuddavâligâma. 34 Who is so fitted to protect this side — perilous, since it is 35 here that fighting is wont to begin — as my brother, the Prince

<sup>1</sup> P. pîterâjâhi, W. translates "by the King, my father". He evidently regards râjâhi as a plur. possess. I believe however, that the term applies to Vijayabâhu III. and Parakkamabâhu II. What is meant is the relic temple in the Vijayaventha-vihâra in Jambuddoyi which is said in 85. 91-2 to have been built by Vijayabâhu III. and renewed by Parakkamabâhu II.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps identical with Vattâlîgâma mentioned in 81. 56. The difference in the writing may possibly be explained in this way that vattâla is the pure Sinhalese form, while vattâlaka is adapted to the Pâli.

Bhuvanekabahu?" The Ruler summoned him therefore, made 25 over to him the great army that stood in the north and 26 commanded him to take up his abode in Sandarapabbata<sup>1</sup>, in order to protect his royal father from this quarter. But the 27 King himself armed, marched with Vrabahu hither and thither, crushed all villages, made Lanka free from the briers (of the 28 enemy) and after getting his father's permission, he set forth with the intention of restoring Palatthinagara.

Now at this time the Great king Parakkamabahu, as if 29 borne on the great wave of his love for his son, set about accompanying his son, full of sympathy, travelling everywhere 30 after him, although the son did not wish it. Then the son ever 31 and again forced his father in reverent manner to return, he himself going on his way. Then his father issued the order: 32 "All people who cherish love for my son let them accompany him." When they heard these words of his, then all the high 33 dignitaries of the King and all the generals, all the great 34 hero warriors and all the elephant drivers, all the riders and all the charioeers were filled with the greatest joy. "Now our 35 Bodhisattva Vijayabahu<sup>2</sup> sets forth to restore the royal city of Palatthinagara. If he goes we shall go with him at once." Thus 36 they spoke and started forth well equipped to accompany him. When a certain number of dignitaries, soldiers and others, 37 out of laziness, were not minded to go, their wives said to them: "Ye, our lords, may come with us or not, at any rate 38 we are going with the King who seeks the best, and we shall 39 dwell with him in the newly restored, splendid town". And they set forth therewith on their way before them. Even 40 children deserted their fathers, if they would not go with them and followed the King. When the King beheld the great 41 crowd of people setting forth, each deserting his village, his house and his comfortable possessions, he persuaded them 42 again and again in his great anxiety, and induced all those

<sup>1</sup> The same as Subhappabbata or Subhagiri = Yāpabu.

<sup>2</sup> The influence again of the Mahāyāna. Cf. 80. 65, 85. 119, 86. 5. Also in Rājputan. and Nik.-s. the King is called Bōant Vijayabahu.

43 whom it was right to induce, to return. Then he betook himself with the four-membered army in the desired strength,  
 44 to the great and loftily situated fortress of Vātagiri<sup>1</sup>. After building a splendid royal palace on the summit of this mountain,  
 45 surrounded by an extraordinarily high wall, he stored there in case of need, the whole of the great treasure given over  
 46 to him by his royal father. Thereupon he built on the same high rock a fine monastery for the community, invited the  
 47 Grand theru, the head of the Mahānittappāsāda-shrine<sup>2</sup>, made over to him the splendid monastery, celebrated a great sacrificial festival and established a regular offering.

48 Hereupon the King went forth to Sumanakūṭa, venerated the footprint of the Sage (Buddha) and betook himself thereafter to Gaṅgāśiripura<sup>3</sup>. There in the ancient vihāra that bore the name Nigamaggūmapāsāda, he saw to the restoration of 50 what was ruinous and decayed, established for the bhikkhus dwelling there a regular almsgiving and came thereafter to 51 Sindhūravāṇī. Here the King erected the vihāra called Va-  
 52 niggūmapāsāda and after building there in the name of his royal father<sup>4</sup> the pacīrāja called Abbayarāja, he granted it the various articles of equipment, villages, fields and so forth.  
 53 Then the Monarch betook himself to the splendid Hatthigiri-  
 54 pura<sup>5</sup>. While here in the great vihāra built by his princely uncle (Bhuvanekabāhu), he gazed along with Prince Virabāhu<sup>6</sup> and his army again and again at the ever to be honoured spot 55 where his corpse was laid (on the pyre), he felt anguish and gained there again and again the inner conception of imper-

<sup>1</sup> Vātagalla is the Kegalle District. Cf. note to Mhv. 58. 31.

<sup>2</sup> A Mahānittapabbata is mentioned in Mhv. 60. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Gaṇḍapura. See 88. 18.

<sup>4</sup> The pacīrāja is not called after his father Parakkumabāhu II. Here it is the case of a patti (see note to 42. 50). The merit is transferred to the dead king.

<sup>5</sup> Kurunegala. See 88. 62 where mention is made of the building of the Vihāra by Bhuvanekabāhu, the younger brother of Parakkumabāhu II.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 88. 41 n.

manency<sup>1</sup>. Hereupon he erected there a splendid, three-storeyed 56 image-house and had made for it a great image of the Buddha. Then having had further a fine statue of his uncle fashioned, 57 he set it up there adorned with all ornaments. The Ruler 58 assigned (his foundation) fine maintenance villages fitted for their purpose, lying around the image-house, as well as numbers of people for service, and decreed for it (the foundation) the 59 name Bhuvanekabāhu-pasivaya, using for it the name of that (uncle). Then after he had settled the town (Hatthigiri) densely 60 with men and women, he had it enclosed with wall, moat and so forth. Thereafter the brave King set forth and marched 61 with the vast four-membered army to Subbagiripura<sup>2</sup>.

At that time the Lord of men Candabhānu, formerly<sup>3</sup> beaten 62 after hard fighting, having collected from the countries of the Pañjas and Colas and elsewhere many Dāniya soldiers, 63 representing a great force, landed with his Jāvaka army in Mahātittha. After the King had brought over to his side the 64 Sibalas dwelling in Padi, Kūrundi<sup>4</sup> and other districts, he marched to Subbagiri. He set up there an armed camp and 65 sent forth messengers with the message: "I shall take Tishala<sup>5</sup>; I shall not leave it to thee. Yield up to me therefore together with the Tooth Relic of the Sage, the Bowl Relic and the 66 royal dominion. If thou wilt not, then fight." Thereupon 67 Vijayabāhu summoned the Ruler<sup>6</sup> Virabāhu, took counsel with him, had a strong force equipped for him and spake: "Hurrah, 68 to-day both of us shall see the strength of our arms." Then the two set forth<sup>7</sup>, surrounded the great army of Candabhānu on 69 all sides and fought a great battle, terrible as a combat of Rūma. Then were the hostile warriors subdued in battle and 70

<sup>1</sup> P. *anicca-lakkhaṇa*. This is a term drawn from the technique of *jhāna*, meditative absorption. See Hauer, *Die buddhistische Versenkung*, p. 18 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. Tājābu.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 83. 30 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See note to 83. 16.

<sup>5</sup> See note to 81. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Virabāhu has here and in v. 29 the title of *mahipati*, just as Bhuvanekabāhu in v. 79 has the title of *rājā*.

<sup>7</sup> Note the change of subject in the case of *uṭṭivā* and *nikhamitṛ*.

weaponless the soldiers of the foe<sup>1</sup> wandered around, prayed  
 71 and implored, tortured by fear, were benumbed, trembled,  
 begged for mercy in the fight, whined and grieved full of  
 72 terror. In their distress certain of the foe fled to the forest,  
 73 others to the sea, others again to the mountains. After  
 74 Vijayabahu had thus fought and slain many soldiers, he sent  
 the Lord of men Candubhānu flying defenceless. But the  
 75 loveliest women of his court and all the elephants and horses,  
 76 the swords and many other weapons, the entire treasure, the  
 trumpets of victory, the umbrella of victory, the drum of  
 77 victory, the banner of victory — all these he sent to his father.  
 78 Having in this way fought the fiery battle, conquered the  
 province and won the victory, he united *Lankā* under the  
 umbrella of his dominion.

79 Hereupon he had this town (Subhagiri) also surrounded  
 by a high rampart and a trench and built there a superb  
 80 royal palace. Having finished it, he established there in that town  
 a regular almsgiving for the great bhikkhu community. Then he  
 81 spake encouragingly to his younger brother King Bhuvanekab-  
 ahū and made him take up his abode as before in Subhapalbata.  
 82 Now the Ruler betook himself to *Anurādhapura* and there  
 round about the Thūpārāma and all the other sacred places  
 83 he had the mighty forest — that was like a stronghold created  
 by Māra — felled and a wall erected which was as a bridge  
 84 over the stream of his hopes. Then after the Ruler had had  
 these sacred places embellished by new buildings, he celebrated  
 85 a great sacrificial festival. But as he wished to complete the  
 work of restoration on the *Hatāvāali-cetiya*<sup>2</sup>, begun but not  
 86 finished by his royal father, he assembled with the greatest  
 speed all people dwelling in the town from the places where  
 87 individuals sojourned, ordered numbers of skilful workmen  
 hither and having established for the community at whose head  
 88 stood the chief Thera of the *Senānīthi-pariveya*<sup>3</sup> a regular

<sup>1</sup> *Peribhāja tāta* in 71d takes up again the *tāta* *ceriyuttā* in v. 70 a b.

<sup>2</sup> See 62. 6b.

<sup>3</sup> This is the building erected by the general *Kutṭhaka* under *Udaya II* and called in *Mhs.* 61, 68, *Senānīthi-pariveya*.

almsgiving', he appointed the Thera to look after the work of restoration. Thereupon the Monarchs of the Vanni who were living in Patikkaraṭṭha, sought out the Ruler, bringing him many gifts. He (on his part) presented them with rocking chairs, white umbrellas, fly-whisks and other insignia for the great kings of the Vanni people. Therewith he made them all contented, charged them to protect the town (Anurādhapura) and betook himself from there to Polatthinagāra.

There the Monarch summoned to him the ruler Virabahu: 90 "We shall embellish this town, originally the royal city, and fill the universe with the camphor perfume of the exuberant abundance of our glory." After these words he took counsel with him and spake thereupon: "In the town called Polatthinagāra 92 there are now pāśūdas, image-houses, vihāras, pariveyas, cetiyas and relic temples, walls, gate-towers, houses of the vihārayoga 93 and of the hammiya kind<sup>1</sup>, sunnāpas, sermon halls, temples to deities and other buildings. Some of these stand erect, covered 94 with grass, trees and whatever else has grown upon them. Others have collapsed without support as the whole of their pillars perished; others again alas! will fall, bending under 95 the weight of walls cracked from top to foot, because other support is wanting. Some of these, through decay and old age 96 are like greybeards, and unable to stand erect, they become more bowed from day to day. With many the joists are broken<sup>2</sup> and 97 their pinnacles destroyed<sup>3</sup>; with others the roofs have decayed<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Nittipeti* means here "to fix, to establish", the object *dāmarūpam* being governed by it.

<sup>2</sup> I leave the two terms *ayūmāya* and *hammiya* (akr. *hammi*) untranslated. Both are names for particular types of dwelling-houses which we are unable to describe further.

<sup>3</sup> P. *ekhānatālāyukti*. I believe that *ekhānīki* (lit. balance-beam) means the horizontal beam, while *gopāmī* (v. 98; cf. 87, 14) means the beams of the roof-tree. The construction of the compound is: "many are such in which . . . are broken off."

<sup>4</sup> P. *antīmūkabhi*. The original meaning of *āpabhi* which is omitted in the PTS. P. D. is according to Abū. "dovcute".

<sup>5</sup> P. *vidhātaravabhi*. This is an interesting voucher for *āpabhi* which

98 and the bricks are broken. In others by the breakage of the damaged roof-tree the bricks of the roof have fallen and only  
 99 walls and pillars remain. In others again the gates have fallen in and the hinging of the gate-posts destroyed; in others again  
 100 the steps have become loosened and the railings have fallen in. Of many all that can be seen are parts still hanging together<sup>1</sup> of the original foundation wall: of many not even  
 101 the place where they once stood is now to be seen. Of what use are many words? This town which has lost all its glory  
 102 we shall again make glorious. The Ruler must give his consent. Then later he may celebrate the royal consecration in the  
 splendid city." With this charge he sent a messenger to his father.

103 When the King heard these tidings, his heart was full of joy, and as he himself had cherished the wish to restore the  
 104 original royal town, he summoned the circle of the great dignitaries from every quarter, and issuing his commands to all the  
 105 inhabitants of *Lankā*, he brought together the workers in iron,  
 106 the turners, bamboo workers<sup>2</sup>, blacksmiths, potters, goldsmiths,  
 107 painters, porters, workmen, slaves, the *caṇḍilas* who understood  
 108 work for hire, the bricklayers, workers in stucco, carpenters  
 109 and the guilds of masons, and in addition to these all black-  
 110smith's tools, such as bellows, hammers, tongs, sledge-hammers,  
 anvils, as well as many sharp saws, axes, hatchets, (wedges)  
 111 for splitting trees and for crushing stones, knives, chisels<sup>3</sup>,  
 shovels, mats, baskets and so forth. All these appliances he  
 gave carefully to the people and also much money, such as

comes in the canon (M. I. 176<sup>10</sup>, 177<sup>11</sup>), only in the compound *caṇḍilavāha* which must be translated "covered-in carriage".

<sup>1</sup> Thus I translate *nibandhana*. In Skr. it means figuratively at least a joint of woods, a compound.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Saṃyutta Canon* (I. 193<sup>12</sup> of the Siamese ed.) *caṇḍila* is explained by *caṇḍikā*.

<sup>3</sup> P. *kaṇisa*. In Skr. *kaṇisa* means "hneron" according to BHL, but this cannot be the case here. Some kind of pointed instrument must be meant (cf. *kaṇi* "point").

pearls, precious stones and the like and sent it with the people<sup>1</sup> to his royal son. Thereupon in the devastated land, long desolate, King Vijayabāhu, happy at heart, had the water system — tanks, ponds, dykes, pools and the like — in which the embankments had given way, and which were deprived of their deep water, dammed up as before, filled with deep water, covered with divers lotus blossoms and stocked with all kinds of fish. Then he had many valuable fields which had always been ground on which grew every kind of corn, newly planted, had all kinds of crops grown here and there and made the whole fair land prosperous. And the Ruler restored superb Pulatthinagura as it had been aforetime, surrounded by a moat, deep as the sea, with a fine chain of walls like to the Cakkavāla mountains<sup>2</sup>, provided with divers vihāras, surrounded by various monastic parks with divers bathing-ponds, filled with a variety of cetiyas, sprinkled with various addhīyoga<sup>3</sup>s, adorned with divers pāndas, built over with a variety of hāmriyas<sup>4</sup>, embellished with divers māṇḍapas, provided with all sorts of temples to deities, resplendent with every kind of gate-towers, fair with the rows of divers houses, boasting a variety of streets, with four well-distributed gates, with fine squares and road-crossings.

In this fashion the King had the town of Pulatthinagara — comparable to the city of Indra<sup>5</sup> — restored, so that it surpassed Mithilā, subdued Kāśīpuri, laughed to scorn Sāvatthī, subdued Madhūrī, turned to shame Bārṣasā, reduced Vesāli to nothing and made Cāmpāpuri<sup>6</sup> tremble with her glory.

<sup>1</sup> P. *sahū senāya*. *Senā* means here the staff of workers raised by the King.

<sup>2</sup> These are the mountains which are supposed to surround the earth which is conceived of as a disk. Cf. Ske. *cakkavāla*, *śāśvata*, BH. n. v. 2; W. Kinner, *Kosmographie der Indier*, p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> For *addhīyoga* and *hāmriya* see above note to v. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Amārāvatī, see 80. 5. The town is described in the Mahābhārata, III. 1714 ff.

<sup>5</sup> A series of the most famous Indian towns. 1) Mithilā, capital of the Vajrasā, now northern Bihār; 2) Kāśīpuri, in Southern India

Here ends the eighty-eighth chapter, called «The Restoration of Pulathinagara», in the *Mahāvamsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

on the Coromandel Coast, one of the seven sacred towns of India; 3) Śrāvasti, capital of the Kosala country in present Nepal (T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 40); 4) Madhurā, here probably the town Mathurā on the Jumna, chief locality of the Śūrasena, mentioned AN. II. 57 (B.R. n. 7. *maribhūta* § 3); 5) Bārāṇasi, now Benares; 6) Vaishālī, in the Videha country, in Buddhist times the chief locality of the Licchavi clan, like Sāvatthī often mentioned in the sacred Canon; 7) Campā, in the territory of the Angas, now Bhāgalpur on the Ganges, Bihar. Note the sacred number seven. See also the two notes to *BB*. 4.

## Chapter LXXXIX

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE KING'S  
CONSECRATION AND OTHER FESTIVALS

The King spake: "This Polatthinasagara is now thus restored 1 as before, dowered with all that belongs to a city. This town is 2 now radiant with happiness, splendour and beauty. She has surpassed Jetuttara and will now surpass Sāgulā. After van- 3 quishing Sumsumūragiri, what need hath she to care for Sā- 4 keta? Ha! even Rājagaha etc. wishes to capture as it is. She 4 has destroyed Saṅkassa and now scorns Indrapatha. She dares to challenge<sup>4</sup> Kapilavatthu<sup>5</sup>. Therefore shall the King, the 5

<sup>1</sup> P. *saṅghyam uṣṇhate kattum*. I think that *saṅghya* here is = skr. *sanghyā* and means "right" (B.R. n. v. 4). The Col. Ed. reads *saṅghyam* and W. translates: "seeketh friendship with E." This I think is not so good, as *uṣṇhate* has then no meaning. It looks as if the author here as also in B.R. 121, by the peculiarity of synecdoche for the term "empire", wishes to show his intimacy with the rules of alaṅkāra. Cf. the expressions in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaśāstra* 2. 62 ff. with those used in this passage.

<sup>2</sup> The author returns here, repeating himself, to the idea already treated in the final strophe of chap. 88. He displays his geographical knowledge which he apparently borrows from the *Akhōdikāmappadāpikā* where in v. 200 and 201 all the towns named by him are enumerated: 1) Jetuttara, often mentioned in the Jātakas as the capital of the Sivi country (skr. *śibi*). Cf. Farsetti's Jāt. Index; 2) Sāgulā, abode of the King Mihinda (Milp. ed. Trenckner, p. 1); 3) Sumsumūragiri, according to M. L 95, II. 91; & III. 1, IV. 116; A. II. 61 etc. a town in the country of the Bhaggas (skr. *bhaṅga*); 4) Sāketa, name of the town Ayodhyā (now Oudh) in the Kosala country. M. L. 140 and often otherwise in the Nikāyas and the Jātaka book; 5) Rājagaha, capital of Māgadha; 6) Saṅkassa (skr. *śambasya*), mentioned in the Jātakas, according to JīGo. IV. 265<sup>23</sup> quite rightly from Sūvatthī, was situated

chief of kings, even as Sakka, the overlord of the gods, did 6 in the city of Sakka<sup>1</sup>, enter this city in all his majesty to celebrate the festival of the royal consecration."<sup>2</sup> Therewith 7 he sent a messenger to his father. When the King heard from the mouth of the messenger the uninterrupted narrative, 8 he rejoiced greatly and betook himself at the head of his army with all the mighty pomp worthy of a king, from the town of Jambudvīpa to the chief capital (of the kingdom). 9 And King Vijayabhu went the distance of a gāvuta<sup>3</sup> towards him and accompanied the Great king to the royal capital. 10 For seven days he celebrated in the town the high festival of the royal consecration and carried it out in the (right) 11 sequence to the end. But after he had made over the Northern province<sup>4</sup> to Virabahu and made him take up his abode in 12 the prosperous royal city, he declared: I shall bring the relics of the Sage to this royal city, and betook himself with his royal father to the town of Jambudvīpa.

13 Hereupon the King gathered together a great multitude of the inhabitants of Lankā and had the great highway from 14 the town of Jambudvīpa to splendid Polatthiningara, five yojanas<sup>5</sup> wide made level and throughout, always at a distance 15 of half a yojana, he had a costly rest-house built, gracefully (adorned) with festive banners, rows of bananas, triumphal 16 arches and the like. Thereupon he placed the two relics of the great Seer, Tooth and Bowl, on a high chariot which was 17 fair in its splendour as a heavenly chariot. With numerous

to the west of Rāshyakutīn (now Kannauj) between the Ganges and the Jumna (cf. Vijn. II, 299); 7) Indapattā (sks. Indraprastha), town in the Kuru territory on the site of the present Delhi; 8) Kapilavatthu, capital of the Sākyas in the territory of the present Nepal, birthplace of Buddha.

<sup>1</sup> See note to 88, 121.

<sup>2</sup> About two miles.

<sup>3</sup> The expression is *rathīkāvāttamī*, quite in the sense of Rājatratīha or Patilbāratīha.

<sup>4</sup> According to the context, this would be the whole distance from Jambudvīpa to Polatthiningara. But the distance is much greater, about 76 miles, as the crow flies (6 y. = 45 miles).

groups of the bhikkhu community who, paying homage, encircled<sup>1</sup> on every side the incomparable, splendid, festive chariot, of the sacred reliques, as if they were the hosts of the Brahma<sup>18</sup> who surround the sacred chariot of Brahma, he set forth from the superb city, great Jambuddhaya. The sacrificial festival which he arranged<sup>2</sup> was beautified by the people entrusted with the various duties<sup>3</sup> who letting unceasingly their cries of Hail! resound, went before or followed after<sup>4</sup> and bore with them for the sacrificial festival umbrellas of gold and pearl, golden fly-whisks, inlaid with pearl, banners of gold and pearl, wreaths set with gold and pearl, further golden and silver jars<sup>5</sup>, funs of gold and silver, golden and silver vases, golden and silver shells, golden and silver bowls, golden and silver urns, golden and silver basins, golden and silver mirrors, golden and silver banana trees, tiny shells of gold and silver, golden and silver horses, golden and silver elephants, as well as countless silver and golden lamp-stands and the rest. The festival was surrounded by rows of elephants excellent by reason of the elephant ornaments by which they were overspread<sup>6</sup>, by rows of steeds worth seeing for the abundance of every kind of equine ornament, by the ranks of heroic warriors who with divers weapons in their hands and wearing warlike ornament, played their war games, by the ranks of princes, 27

<sup>1</sup> Thus I translate *saṃvitaśāraṇavāhi*. This *saṃvita* is like the attribute to *mahābhūrūgaghagayati*, also to *brahmaśāraṇavāhi* and governs the *na* *ratnay* in 17a as well as in 17d.

<sup>2</sup> This is taken from v. 36 a *viśvāpūjāya pūrṇitato*. The following adjectives are attributes of *mahāpūjāya*: *mānava* (v. 24 d), *pariśārī* (v. 27 d), *maṇḍitay* (v. 28 d), *pariśārītay* (v. 29 d), *pariśārītay* (v. 32 d), *paśasambay* (v. 34 d), *thombay* (v. 34 c) and *pariśārītay* (v. 55 d).

<sup>3</sup> P. *day-dām-dhārī-nigatthi* (v. 21 c). The people meant are those who have particular functions to perform at a sacrificial festival.

<sup>4</sup> Taken from vv. 23-24, *parato pūrṇatā pi ca . . . gachchantehi . . . paramegha*. *Gaktha* in v. 23 c by which the accusatives in v. 19 to 23 n b are governed, is subordinate to *gachchantehi*. The people carry their votive offerings with them in the procession.

<sup>5</sup> Should not the reading here be *-kumbhe* *pi* rather than *-kumbhi*?

<sup>6</sup> Lit.: "by the outspreading (ritthī) of the elephant ornaments."

28 nobles and councillors who wore festive clothing and flaunted manifold ornament. The glory (of the festival) was enhanced  
 29 by the cries of people who thirsting for merit shouted O hail!  
 30 O hail! O hail! The festival was surrounded by serried rows  
 31 of lay sisters and lay brethren who led pure lives and who  
 in their zeal each for himself pressed forward bearing flowers  
 32 and the like as offerings. Around it raged the uproar of  
 sturdy palace servitors who were ever and again now here  
 33 now there, well beaten in fun by other sturdy palace servitors  
 as if they were people fighting out a mighty quarrel with one  
 34 another. It was filled with the songs of praise<sup>1</sup> of the bards  
 who sang festive songs, making thereto on the five instruments  
 35 fine music which spread abroad and charmed<sup>2</sup> the bearers,  
 also with the songs of the minstrels who again and again let  
 36 their praises resound. In devotion there surrounded it the  
 dancers and the actors who performed dances and sang songs  
 37 delightful to see and to hear. Thus performing by degrees  
 in perfect order the high sacrifice, he was wont when in morn-  
 38 ing along the decorated road, he came to the previously  
 erected rest-houses, to set up the reliques in each of these, (he)  
 performed each time a high festival, started again from each  
 39 (rest-house), continued ever on his way and so brought by  
 degrees the reliques of the Prince of the wise to the royal  
 capital<sup>3</sup>.

40 Then after the King had turned the whole city into a  
 single great place of festival — at a favorable moment when  
 41 constellation, day and hour were auspicious, in the ancient,  
 decorated relic temple, fair as the palace of the King of the  
 42 gods — most splendid of all temples — he solemnly and in  
 careful manner placed the two reliques on a costly throne em-  
 bellished by all manner of jewels. From that time onwards,

<sup>1</sup> Lit.; "was pleased by . . . and charmed by . . ."

<sup>2</sup> P. *sāṃśayatām*, lit. "very well worth hearing".

<sup>3</sup> Vv. 16-18 form one sentence. The principal verb is *ānayi* (v. 98d with the immediately preceding gerund). The gerunds *saṃbhāpetra* v. 16c and *mātābhāpetra* v. 18c are subordinate to *paratānto mātābhājaya* (along with the attributes belonging to it; cf. notes to vv. 18 and 24/18).

day by day more, with the four kinds of perfume<sup>1</sup>, with fine, fragrant incense, with divers kinds of blossoms of the punnīga,<sup>2</sup> nāga,<sup>3</sup> pūga<sup>4</sup> and other<sup>5</sup> trees, with countless camphor lamps of precious stones giving a brilliant light, with rows of candleabra on which burned fragrant oil, with dishes full of the finest rice prepared with sweet milk, with heaps of food composed of sweet-smelling rice like to the Kelūsa<sup>6</sup> mountain, with all hard and soft foods and with all that can be drunk or sipped and other (things) the wise Prince celebrated for another three months a world-rejoicing sacrificial festival for the relics, amid the clang of the shell trumpets<sup>7</sup> and thus brought (the festival) to a close.

Then spake the Ruler: "Let us perform in Sahassatittha<sup>8</sup> a blameless festival for admission to the Order."<sup>9</sup> He first sent the Monarch Viśabāhu thither. There he made him erect besides several thousand rooms of sojourn for the community<sup>10</sup>, a lofty house of festival resting on sixty pillars<sup>11</sup> which gleamed with manifold ornament and possessed arches covered with cloth<sup>12</sup>. Heretofon he had prepared the divers objects for the ceremony of admission to the Order and all the four articles of use. And then after the Vānī kings who in this and that province, in Patīghāraṭṭha, in Uthāga and so forth, had collected with great care, much rice with the divers ingredients such as fish, meat and the rest, (had gathered together) great loads of grain, sour and sweet milk, butter and so forth, also honey, treacle, thickened sugar juice, raw sugar, lump sugar and the like, as well as all things fitting for an offering to the Great

<sup>1</sup> According to Alhp. 167, the *ekajjātigāvī* are 1) *kuṇḍala* "saffron"; 2) *parāmparyaka*?; 3) *ugra* = skr. *ugra* intrans. inunctum coriaria and a fragrant powder prepared from the blossoms of the shrub; 4) *thukkha* = skr. *twukkha* "incense".

<sup>2</sup> *Rottleria* *Caetaria* (kamala tree), *mesua ferrea* (ironwood tree), *acacia* *catechu* (*Acacia* *catechu*).

<sup>3</sup> See note to 83. 41. The *tortum* *comparationis* is the white colour.

<sup>4</sup> Lit.: "together with the shell trumpet festival".

<sup>5</sup> See above note to 81. 71. <sup>6</sup> P. *sayyadādāna*.

<sup>7</sup> P. *satthitthāmbarāvahāya* as in 81. 34.

<sup>8</sup> P. *patīgāvī* as in 85. 9.

54 community, King Vijayabahu betook himself thither. He issued the invitation: "Let us take in hand the arrangement  
 55 of a festival for admission to the Order. Let all the Grand  
 56 theras, all the middle-aged and the youthful who have trust  
 57 in their hearts towards us, the lords among the ascetics not  
 58 fail to come to Sahassatittha," and (he) sent messengers  
 59 everywhere (with the invitation)<sup>1</sup>. When all the individual  
 60 groups of ascetics settled in Tambapapit heard this news, they  
 61 rejoiced greatly and set forth on their way from every quarter,  
 62 without allowing even the administrator of their provisions to  
 63 remain behind, and in haste the heroes among the ascetics  
 64 assembled by degrees well prepared in Sahassatittha<sup>2</sup>. The  
 65 King who again and again<sup>3</sup> surveyed Sahassatittha surrounded  
 66 as it was with ascetics felt a befitting<sup>4</sup> joy, and in abundant  
 67 measure the ruler supplied the Great bhikkhu community as  
 68 was seemly, with excellent food and drink. Then celebrating  
 69 day by day here in Sahassatittha a great sacrificial festival,  
 70 he made those bhikkhus who were called thereto, perform  
 71 the ceremony of admission for those who were desirous of  
 72 entering the Order, and celebrated the ceremony of admission  
 73 to the Order for half a month. Thereupon the King granted  
 74 the rank of a Grand Master<sup>5</sup>, the rank of a Chief Thera<sup>6</sup>,  
 75 the rank of a Grand Thera and the rank of a Parivepi-Thera<sup>7</sup>  
 76 to such (bhikkhus) who because they had brought about the  
 77 prosperity of the Order, deserved to receive this or that rank,

<sup>1</sup> Vv. 47-56 form one sentence which opens with three loc. abs. *taru-*  
*piye* (47 a), *saññipitak* (50 a) and *uttessa* (53 a).

<sup>2</sup> P. *upagata* (with the acc. of the place) *upagatañcayo* is merely  
 periphrastic.

<sup>3</sup> P. *rahum*, used in the same way as the double *mukha* *rahum*.  
 The same in 35. V. 32<sup>12</sup> *kim maya mukha* *pekkhanti kappalatana* (mukha  
 being explained by the commentary as *punappupat*).

<sup>4</sup> P. *asabha*, Cf. skr. *asabha*, DIL s. v., 1 b. The joy corresponds to  
 the great number of bhikkhus who have put on an appearance.

<sup>5</sup> P. *mahāsāvijadhi*, Cf. note to 53. 23.

<sup>6</sup> P. *maha(thera)pada*, Cf. 69. 31 *ādikāmīcī*.

<sup>7</sup> P. *theraparivepiñcīkya* *padī* seems to mean "the rank where the  
 word *parivepa* precedes *thera*."

Then having bestowed on them the eight articles of use, fair, 66 worthy of a king, to the value of a thousand (gold pieces), and also to the other ascetics in succession, costly articles of 67 use, he sent many remaining articles of use to the bhikkhus settled in the Paya and Cola countries. Then when all his 68 wishes had received fulfillment, he guided by right knowledge<sup>1</sup>, sent a messenger to his father and announced to him: "All 69 meritorious works which I have performed I have performed in the name of my royal father."

Thus in granting admission to the Order to numerous 70 ascetics at the great ford of the Vālikā river called Sahassa, in the correctly drawn<sup>2</sup> boundary, known as the 'throwing up of the waters'<sup>3</sup>, he made lustrous the nine-fold doctrine<sup>4</sup> of the sublime Buddha.

After he had for a long time made over the burden of 71 government<sup>5</sup> to his own world-faced son, this most excellent

<sup>1</sup> P. *ñīyapabbhāgavatā kāta*, "placing eight knowledge at the head." He was conscious that he was only his father's representative. W. uses the words in the oratio recta and translates: "Whatsoever merit hath been performed by me with a pure mind."

<sup>2</sup> P. *parisādhita*, lit. purified.

<sup>3</sup> P. *ubhavastu*, a term difficult to explain and occurring again 91.17 and 97.12. It has reference to the ceremony being performed in a building erected in a lake or in a river (see above note to 87.71). The boundary which must enclose the space set apart for ecclesiastical functions must thus be drawn in the water. In fixing it water would have to be "thrown up" (skr. *ksip* with *u*), just as the earth is thrown up in fixing a boundary on land. W.'s note gives a correct definition: "a space in a sheet of water, duly defined, for purposes of ordination and other ecclesiastical functions". But this does not explain the etymology of the expression.

<sup>4</sup> P. *navañikāmā sāsana*. The nine "members" (singulis) of the holy scriptures are: 1) *sutta* "discourse"; 2) *peyya*, the same with an admixture of verse; 3) *teyyādūrūpa* "exposition" without verse (chiefly the *Abhidhamma*); 4) *gāthā* "stanzas"; 5) *ñāna*; 6) *ñigdha*; 7) *jātaka*, the well known three books belonging to the *tipiṭaka*; 8) *abbhutadhamma* "discourses relating to mysterious conditions"; 9) *veda*, title of some special *suttas*.

<sup>5</sup> P. *abhāra*, lit. "burden of the earth". Cf. sir. *abhārī* "prince, ruler".

King Parukkamâbâhu who as described<sup>1</sup>, performed through his son an abundance of meritorious works, entered heaven when he had attained his thirty-fifth year (of reign)<sup>2</sup>.

Here ends the eighty-ninth chapter, called «Description of the Festival of the King's Consecration and Other Festivals», in the Mahâvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> *etam etiam evenit in his way.*

<sup>2</sup> According to Bâjav. 32 years, Pâjav. 33 years. The number given in the Mâva. includes those years when Vijayabâhu carried on the government. The latter is called Bâsant Vijayabâhu by the Nik.-a. as well as by the Itâjucâna.

## CHAPTER XC

THE HISTORY OF THE EIGHT KINGS,  
OF VIJAYABĀHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Now in the second year of King Vijayabāhu<sup>1</sup> who after 1 Parakkamabāhu's death, held sway over all Laṅkā, one of his 2 generals, Mitta by name, a faithless friend<sup>2</sup>, won over as associate a slave belonging to the immediate entourage of the King. Out of lust for dominion the recreant made him whom 3 he had bribed by gifts, slay the Ruler at night. Now when 4 the younger brother of the King, the King Bhuvanekabāhu<sup>3</sup> 5 heard of this event, he left the town of Jambuddoṭi, mounted in his fear a covered litter<sup>4</sup> and sped on his way to the fortress of Subhācāla<sup>5</sup>. But people who had received gifts 6 from the hands of the evil general Mitta, and were therefore bound to him from the outset, nine wicked, brutal brothers 7 from the clan of the Monasibas<sup>6</sup>, pursued him and pitilessly pierced the Monarch's litter so fiercely with their pointed spears 8 that everything — seat, girths and the like<sup>7</sup> were in tatters.

<sup>1</sup> Rājū, jumps from Vijayabāhu IV., passing over his immediate successors, to the history of Alankārum and the Chinese invasion. See note to 91. 14.

<sup>2</sup> P. *diṇḍimitta* with reference to the general's name *mitta* "friend".

<sup>3</sup> Rājadrūpa, calls him Lokekabāhu, Bhuvanekabāhu, Nikesa, Mahābāhu, vanaikabāhu.

<sup>4</sup> P. *gātr*, used of every kind of conveyance. W's translation "litter" is undoubtedly right.

<sup>5</sup> Subhācāla is like its synonyms: Subhangiri, Subhapabbata, Bandarapabbata, the name for the present so-called Yāpahu.

<sup>6</sup> See note to 98. 18.

<sup>7</sup> P. *undolipattakaddikam*. The seats of these litters were evidently suspended in girths to counterbalance the shaking. Hence the expression *undoli* "swing", while *pattaka* means the girths.

9 He (Bhuvanekabāhu) sprang to the ground from the litter and betook himself in haste, unharmed, to the village of Kala-  
 10 gallaka<sup>1</sup>. Here from a stall where elephants were tethered<sup>2</sup>,  
 11 he took a specially good elephant, mounted it and having  
 again crossed the great Kojabhinna river then in flood, the  
 King reached that selfsame Subbagiri.

12 Now the Senāpati Mitta forced his way into the town of  
 Jambuddoṭi, into the palace of the Great king, seated himself  
 13 on the splendid lion throne of the Great king, and showed him-  
 self, the recreant, to the whole army his person adorned with  
 14 the royal ornaments. But now all the dignitaries who sup-  
 15 ported him, came together, one following the other. They  
 thought: "We must under all circumstances win over by (means  
 of) proper pay the whole army, that part belonging to our  
 16 own country as well as the alien part." They began in the  
 first instance, to hand over their pay to the chivalrous Āriya  
 17 warriors<sup>3</sup> at the head of whom was Thukuraka. But these  
 declared: "We have at all times been people who one felt  
 must be won over. Now ye must under all circumstances,  
 18 first of all by good pay win over the Sihala warriors and  
 make them contented." And none of them now accepted the  
 19 pay. "Be it so", answered the others. They paid all the  
 Sihalas their money and then called upon the Āriya to take  
 20 their pay. But again they refused with the words: "Our pay  
 21 shall be handed to us later; we shall not take it now." So  
 although all the ministers ever and again urgently pressed  
 22 them<sup>4</sup> to accept their pay, the well-armed<sup>5</sup> Āriya knights

<sup>1</sup> Probably Kalugallagama in the Kodugalboda Korala, NNW. from  
 Kuruwegala.

<sup>2</sup> P. *gṛihāndhāniyam* is the loc. of *-dhāna* (fem. of *-dhāna*).

<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the Sihalas, these must be South Indian mercenaries. The reader is referred to the tribe of the Āriya mentioned in 61. 30 and 63. 15. This (not *Āriya*) would be at any rate the correct form of the name according to the phonetic rules of Pāli. See also below v. 44.

<sup>4</sup> P. *ubhādhāra karoti* "makes an urgent petition". Cf. VrCo, 20)<sup>6</sup> *deri pānepiyamā ubhādhāra karoti* "the queen urged him again and again to fulfil her wish".

<sup>5</sup> P. *sajjita*. This is obviously meant to call attention to the

declared: "We shall say everything in the presence of the King." They betook themselves to the King's abode and when 23 they saw the Senāpati Mitta sitting on the lion throne, they stood for a time respectfully there. Then the warrior Thakuraka who was possessed of an undaunted heart, gave his comrades a sign, took his sharp sword and in a moment 25 swiftly struck off the Senāpati's head so that it fell to the ground. Now when hereupon a great hubbub arose in the 26 town, all the Sihala soldiers who were a mighty force, banded themselves together and asked the Āriya soldiers with Tha- 27 kuraka at their head: "Why have ye done this evil deed?" They replied: "It took place at the command of King Bhuvanekabāhu who abides in Subhagiri." With the words: "Be 28 it so", all the Āriya and Sihala warriors united and brought the King, their lord, Bhuvanekabāhu from the town of Subha- 30 giri to the town of Jambuddopi and with reverence consecrated him King.

From that time onward the King made the whole double 31 army obedient to his will by assigning them salaries and the like, drove back all the Damila foes, like, Kāliṅgarāyara, 32 Colagāngadava and the rest who had landed from the opposite coast, as also the Yānū kings in Sihala, Kudalivāḍa, Apūra, 33 Tipā, Himiyānaka and so on, and freed Lankā from the briers 34 of the foe. He took up his abode for several years in the town of Jambuddopi, betook himself therupon to the town 35 of Subhagiri, had built here an extensive royal city, gleaming in the beauty, and abode there.

As he then won over all his subjects by a just policy, he 36 was a just king and a believing adherent of the Doctrine. He 37 bestowed on the skilful scribes of the sacred books abundant money and had the whole of the Tipiṭaka copied by them, 38 had it preserved here and there in the vihāras of Lankā, and thus the Lord of men caused the dissemination of the sacred texts<sup>1</sup>. Several times, too, the Ruler caused the festival 39

threatening aspect of the situation. "The Āryas are fully armed throughout the negotiations.

<sup>1</sup> P. yathābhāṣa could also mean "the Doctrine in the Pāli tongue".

of admission to the Order — which is a festival for the world — to be so celebrated that it was radiant with the splendid offerings made, and thus he brought growth and prosperity to the Order of the Sage — the Order whose sublime greatness must be reverenced by the (inhabitants of the) three worlds. He celebrated daily a great sacrifice for the Tooth Relic and he provided the bhikkhu community with the four articles of equipment.

42 In this wise he wrought good, while dwelling in Subhagiri and after carrying on the government for 11 years, he entered heaven.

43 Once when (here in Lankā) a famine arose<sup>1</sup>, there landed, sent with an army by the five brothers, the kings who held sway in the Pañju realm, a Damiya general known by the name of Āriyacakravattin who though he was no Āriya<sup>2</sup> was yet a great dignitary of great power. He laid waste the kingdom in every direction and entered the proud stronghold, the town of Subhagiri. The sacred Tooth Relic<sup>3</sup> and all the costly treasures there he seized and returned with them to the Pañju kingdom. There he made over the Tooth Relic to King Kulasēkhara<sup>4</sup> who was as the sun for the lotus blossom of the stem of the great kings of the Pañjus.

<sup>1</sup> There is a gap in the text here. Of v. 43a the MSS. have only chātāmī, five syllables are therefore wanting. The Col. Ed. supplements jāgādāmāsīy. I should prefer chātāmī idha jātāmīy, because the similarity of the first and third words would make the slip of the writer of the archetype easily intelligible.

<sup>2</sup> See above, note to v. 16.

<sup>3</sup> According to 90. 41 Vijayabābu had deposited the Tooth and Bowl Relics in Pulathinagam. Evidently his successor had brought them back to Subhagiri to the town built by him there, a theory supported by 90. 41. The Sinhalese kings liked to keep the palladium of the kingdom in their immediate neighbourhood. It is remarkable how in the later parts of the Mys. the *pattadikā* is relegated to the background — it is only just mentioned again in 90. 72 — and how the whole religious and political interest centres in the *dhārādhātu*.

<sup>4</sup> Kulasēkhara reigned 1268—1308 (H. W. Cummins, IC, p. 80). His general Āriya Cakravartī is mentioned in a South Indian inscription (No. 110 in Annual Report of Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras Government, 1903 according to Cummins, l. c. p. 87).

Hereupon the son of the Bodhisatta Vijayabāhu<sup>1</sup> and grand- 48  
 son of the mighty King Parakkamabāhu (II), Parakkama- 49  
 bāhu by name, became king and raised aloft — as if to fend 50  
 off like a cloud the heat from the people who dwelt in 50  
 Laṅkā — the umbrella (of dominion), the emblem of its proud 51  
 kings — fair through the cool shade (it gave) and like to the 51  
 disk of the full moon. And he reflected: "That Tooth Relic 52  
 which was taken to the Pāṇḍu kingdom — that relic of the 52  
 Prince of the wise, our highest protecting deity, worthy of 53  
 veneration by our race, how shall I bring it back from there?" 52  
 And as the Ruler saw no other means but friendly negotiation, 53  
 he set forth in the company of several able warriors, betook 54  
 himself to the Pāṇḍu kingdom and sought out the Ruler of 54  
 the Pāṇḍus. By daily conversations he inclined him favourably, 55  
 received from the hands of the King the Tooth Relic, returned 55  
 to the Island of Laṅkā and placed the relic in superb Pu- 56  
 latthinagāra in the former relic temple. Then the Ruler took 56  
 up his abode in this city and began to carry on the govern- 57  
 ment without transgressing the precepts laid down for kings<sup>2</sup>. 57  
 The King performed daily a festival for the Tooth Relic and 58  
 accumulated unweariedly a great abundance of meritorious 58  
 works. He provided the bhikkhu community with robes and 59  
 the other articles of use and thus having furthered the laity 59  
 and the Order, he fell under the power of death.

The son of Bhuvanekalāthu, the ruler of the town of 60  
 Subhagiri<sup>3</sup>, Bhuvanekabāhu became king in Hatthigiri-

<sup>1</sup> See 88. 06 and note. The Mhv. tells us nothing of the fate of the younger brothers of Bhuvanekalāthu I: Tilokamalla, Parakkama-bāhu and Jayabāhu (88. 19-20). Evidently they died before Bhuvanekabāhu.

<sup>2</sup> P. rājekāti. W's translation "laws of Mana" is too restricted.

<sup>3</sup> With reference to a fragmentary interpolation in three MSS. after the line 69ab; see my edition as well as W's note on p. 816. The translation would run as follows: "With the constant thought: the son of Bhuvanekabāhu, the ruler of the town of Subhagiri, the prince by name Bhuvanekabāhu, cherishes the desire for (assurping) the royal dignity at a future time, the King Parakkamabāhu ordered a barber with the help of the king's people to put out both his eyes although

60 pura<sup>1</sup>. The Lord of men wishing to acquire merit, rejoicing in generosity and other good deeds, instituted permanently a  
 61 regular alms of food for the bhikkhu community. Every year the King celebrated in a manner worthy of the highest kingly power, the festival of his coronation and in conjunction with  
 62 that in the Jetthamūla<sup>2</sup> month, after an opulent sacrificial festival, he had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed. Thus he made the Order of the Victor shine  
 63 brightly. After having performed these and many other meritorious works in manifold ways, the second<sup>3</sup> Bhuvanekabāhu also fell a victim to impermanence.

64 His still more eminent son, Parakkamabāhu<sup>4</sup>, wise and dowered with courage, was (thereupon king) in the superb city. With the love of faith in the three (sacred) objects, he assembled the bhikkhus and made them perform several times  
 65 over the ceremony of admission to the Order. In the royal courtyard he erected in careful fashion a temple for the Tooth Relic, fair with its walls and pillars, painted with bright-lined  
 66 pictures, provided with golden spires<sup>5</sup>, with gate posts of  
 67 gold, splendid, three storeys high. There he set up a canopy  
 68 of coloured stuffs, strips of cloth and the like. This he decorated  
 69

he was his younger brother (cousin) . . . . The last words are unintelligible because the sentence has been left unfinished.

<sup>1</sup> The text here has like 80.77 the synonym *Hathiselapura* (Kurunegala). The Nik.-s. calls the king *Vat-himi-bhuvanekabāhu*.

<sup>2</sup> June—July.

<sup>3</sup> The Col. Ed. has *diviyo* and W. translated accordingly: "in the second year of his reign." Commentor (C. A. L. B. X. 2, p. 91) emended this into *diviyo* and this emendation is confirmed by all the MSS. known to me. Commentor, (HC, p. 82), points out quite rightly that according to the Dājadī-sītī the King must have reigned at least 9 years. The wording of v. 61 points also to a longer reign. Rājatāna, gives the number of years reigned and the number of the coronation festivals as 24.

<sup>4</sup> Nik.-s. and Rājatāna, call him *Puṇḍitapārākramabāhu*. For *āsi* in 84.9 with note should be compared. The ascent of the throne by Parakkamabāhu IV, took place according to the Dājadī-sītī in the Saka year 1247 = 1325/6 A. D. (Commentor, l. c.).

<sup>5</sup> P. *śīya* = skr. *śīya*, DR. s. v. t. c. Cf. no. 90.

with garlands of gold, silver and pearl which hung down on all sides and he attached to it a wall of silken curtains adorned therewith<sup>1</sup>. Here (in the tent) he spread a seat, radiant with coloured draperies, and decorated it on every side with rows of golden and silver vases and with rows of candelabra of silver, gold and precious stones. On this seat he then full of reverence, placed the casket with the Tooth Relic and the casket with the Bowl Relic. Hereupon he set about performing day by day a great sacrificial festival in worthy fashion for the relics of the Master — a festival glorious with flowers and perfumes and with lamps and incense, provided with all foods soft and solid and with all that one drinks or sips, beautified by the reverberating<sup>2</sup> sound of the five musical instruments, fair through the dances and songs performed by the dancing girls and the actors, preparing delight for the world. With villages and fields, women slaves and men slaves, with elephants, cattle, buffaloes and other gifts he celebrated a sacrificial festival for the relics. With the reflection: "What the daily ceremonial was in the lifetime of the Enlightened One, the highest guide of the whole world, that of the Tooth Relic shall be from this day henceforth," the King composed in the Sinh. tongue a work expounding this, with the title "Ceremonial of the Tooth Relic"<sup>3</sup> and in keeping with it he performed daily a daily ceremony for the relic<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This is the description of a kind of tent. First its ceiling (ap to 69 a) is described and then the side walls. The instruments in 69 d and 69 n b must belong to the gerund *ālankarīya*, but at the same time to *abhiṣṭāya* through the medium of *ālambanāñāhi*.

<sup>2</sup> P. *vijagabbhīmāna*, otherwise as a rule *vijambh*. Cf. skr. *vrāmbh*, *vrubhātā*.

<sup>3</sup> P. *dīpādhātusūcīrīta*, rendering of the Sinh. *dāloddāsīya*. The work — it was mentioned above, note to 90. 69 — still exists. See GRONAU, Literatur und Sprache der Singhalaer, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> The passage is significant. It shows that in Ceylon just as in the temples of Egypt a daily ritual was observed wherein the relics (and the images, cf. the allusions in 38. 56, 53. 90) took the place of the living and present Buddha. See Arthur A. PIGADA C. A. L. R. VI. 2, p. 67 f., and above Cölhrappas I, p. 339, note 4. Cf. also below 97. 98, 101. 4.

80 To the office of royal teacher the King appointed a Grand therā from the Cola country, a self-controlled man, versed in  
 81 various tongues and intimate with philosophic works. Ever  
 and again he heard from him continuously all the Jātakas,  
 82 learned them (by heart) and retained their contents. Then he  
 rendered by degrees these five hundred and fifty beautiful  
 83 Jātakas from the Pāli tongue into the Sihala speech<sup>1</sup>. He  
 recited them in the midst of the Grand theras who were  
 84 intimate with the three Piṭakas, and after correcting them,  
 he had them written down and distributed throughout Lankā.  
 85 And these Jātakas he made over to a wise therā, Medhavipuṇa  
 by name, whom he had gained for the purpose, that they  
 86 might be preserved in the succession of his disciples and  
 thereby handed down still further. Then after having built  
 87 for him a pariveṇa with the King's own name, he assigned him  
 the four villages of Purāṇagāma, Samirasela, Lubujamayājaka  
 88 and Moravāṇa. In the tilūra of Tīthagāma<sup>2</sup> where the big,  
 89 long pañčāla forty-five cubits in size erected by the great  
 Vijayabahu<sup>3</sup>, had fallen into decay, King Parakkamabahu  
 90 himself built a beautiful, long pañčāla<sup>4</sup> of thirty cubits in size,  
 two storeys high, provided with lofty spires<sup>5</sup>, glorious with

<sup>1</sup> This translation of the Jātakas bears the Sinhalese title *Pusiyapuṇa-jātakā*. See Geffen, I. c. p. 6. Probably the king was not himself the author of the Jātaka translation. But he may have started the work, and it was as act of courtesy on the part of the translators that they ascribed it to the king. Cf. WICHITAWASOON, Catalogue of Sinh. Manuscr. in the Br. Mus., p. 118 E.; MATALESEWA, Pāli Literature of Ceylon, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Without doubt this is the present Telanganava, about a mile north of Hikkaduwa not far from the coast in the Galle District. Sri-dhātu-therā, the author of the *Sāñjibhiṇi-saṇḍesa* is called after it.

<sup>3</sup> Vijayabahu IV, with the epithet of Bodhisattva, thence called "The great" here.

<sup>4</sup> In the description of the architectural works of Parakkamabahu I in *Pulathinsvara digbāpiśādū* and *culapāpiśādū* are constantly contrasted with each other (see 78, 86, 87, 88). We have evidently to do with particular architectural terms.

<sup>5</sup> See above note to n. 66.

bright-hued painting, and assigned it then to the venerable 91 Grand thera Kñyassutti who dwelt in the Vijayabahu-pariveya<sup>1</sup>. He also granted him a village, called Sälaggåma, on the banks 92 of the river<sup>2</sup> forming the boundary (of the monastery), making it a possession of the pariveya. In fair Titthagåma he had a 93 park laid down, provided with five thousand cocopalms. In 94 Devapura<sup>3</sup> he built a long temple consisting of two storeys, provided with four pairs of gates for the image of the recumbent lion<sup>4</sup>. To this temple he assigned the grove-encircled village 95 Ganþhimåna by name which he proclaimed as the property of the Buddha. In the vihåra of Valligåma<sup>5</sup> the Ruler erected a 96 long päsäda, consisting of two storeys, which after his own name, was called Parakkamabahu(-päsäda), and granted it the 97 (village) Saligiri<sup>6</sup> by name as a large maintenance village belonging to the Great community. In fair Viddumagåma, not far 98 from the town of Räjagåma he had a splendid vihåra built, connected with the Sirighanåma-paüiveya, with a bodhi tree 99 and an image-house and assigned it to his teacher, the Grand Thera from the Cola country<sup>7</sup>. Thereupon he founded in the 100 charming district of Mayñilåma<sup>8</sup> a new town with fine walls and gate-towers. There he had a fair temple erected to 101 the gods with lofty spires and two storeys, provided with walls and gate-towers, placed there a glorious statue of 102

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 81. 68.

<sup>2</sup> All the MSS. have *spa simhaditthi*, *Simhaditthi* might also be the name of the river. The emendation of the Col. Ed. into *Givhamaditthi* (now Ginganga; cf. 75. 22, *gimhatthi* = *Gintota*) is certainly tempting, but I do not venture a departure from the uniform reading of the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Devapura or Devanagara = Devundara, Dondra. See 40. 59.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. the recumbent Buddha who is always compared to a lion at rest.

<sup>5</sup> See 90. 98.

<sup>6</sup> W. points to *Eligiri*, a village in the Veligama Kotale, 6 miles NNE. of Veligama and 10 miles NW. of Matara.

<sup>7</sup> See above v. 80 f.

<sup>8</sup> The territory whose centre was Sitäraka about 28 miles E. of Colombo.

the lotus-bued King of the gods (Viṣṇu) and celebrated a great sacrificial festival.

103 After performing such and other good deeds for the laity and the Order and many meritorious works, he fell under the power of death.

104 Gifted with the power of meritorious works which he had performed formerly, he after attaining worthless wealth, renounced desire and did nought but good, finding above all pleasure in doing his best<sup>1</sup>. Thinking of what is best for you and on universal impermanence, decide, O ye pious people, whose wealth is faith, for meritorious works<sup>2</sup> amongst which generosity and moral discipline have first place<sup>3</sup>.

105 After his death Vannibhuvanekabāhu was king and 106 after his death came King Vijayabāhu. But after the death of these kings the all-wise Bhuvanekabāhu<sup>4</sup>, the fourth, was ruler in Gāngāsīripura<sup>5</sup> situated in the charming vicinity

<sup>1</sup> The loc. *etāthātu* must be governed by *ratu*. This, it is true, is otherwise construed with the loc.

<sup>2</sup> P. *taṭṭa* *gāyathā* is a verbal combination witnessing to Sinhalese influence. The equivalent in Sinh. for which however, I have no example in the literature, would be *koṭṭagāyathā*. Since *gāyathā* gives a reflexive sense to the verb to which it is attached, *taṭṭa* *gāyathā* means "do for yourselves what is for your advantage".

<sup>3</sup> With verse 102 or 104 the second part of the Cūlavagga which begins with chapter 80, comes to an end. The MSS. also indicate this. Cf. my ed. I, p. IV of the Introd., as well as the notes to the passage. If we assume that it closed originally with v. 102, which is indicated by two of the MSS., then there was added later a summarizing *doka* and then a strophe in artificial metre. Exactly the same thing occurs at the close of the first part (79.84). The addition was evidently intended to veil the break in the text and lead over to the new part.

<sup>4</sup> (Vanni-) Bhuvanekabāhu, Vijayabāhu and the fourth Bhuvanekabāhu are also mentioned by the Nik.-s. and Rājatāna, as successors of Parakramabāhu IV. The inscription of the Lakshātilaka-vihāra belongs to Bhuvanekabāhu IV. (see B. Gunesekara, JRAS, C. B. X, nr. 94, 1897, p. 63 ff.). He built this and the Gadaladeniya-vihāra. See note to 91.30. The King's minister Sūraśākūḍhikūra who is named in the inscr. is also mentioned in Nik.-s.

<sup>5</sup> Gampola, see St. 18.

of the Mahāvālukugāngā — a religious man, a mine of fair virtues; He who gives heed to tradition, let him know that in 108 the fourth year of his reign, one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-four years had elapsed since the Nirvana of the Sage<sup>1</sup>.

When ye have understood how in antiquity the most excellent men when they had experienced the time hard to experience<sup>2</sup> of a Buddha, did good unweariedly without ceasing, such as almsgiving and so forth, so ought ye in perfect fashion to perform all good (deeds).

Here ends the ninetieth Chapter, called «The History of the eight Kings, of Vijayatābu and his Successors», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. 1350 A. D. The name in Nik.-s., but Rājatābu, has the figures 1396 = 1352 A. D. Both numbers are approximative. According to the Lañkātīlaka inscription Rāvavānabāhu IV. succeeded the throne already in 1267 of the Saka era, i. e. 1344-5 A. D. For the whole subject see H. W. Cousens, IIG, p. 88, 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Dullabdhavayavatidallathika* is merely tautological, *tathāvayavat* is furthermore a spurious form, made to suit the metre.

## CHAPTER XCI

HISTORY OF THE FOUR KINGS,  
OF PARAKKAMABĀHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

1 Now after the death of Bhuvanekabāhu there were two kings, Parakkamabāhu<sup>1</sup> and the discerning Vikramabāhu<sup>2</sup>.

2 There lived then at the time of Vikramabāhu in the fair town known by the name of Peraddōgi<sup>3</sup>, situated in the charming

3 neighbourhood of the Maha(vāluks)gāngā, an eminent prince, sprung from the Giri family, the discerning Alagakkonāra<sup>4</sup>

4 by name, adorned with majesty, faith and other virtues, full of the desire to further the hūti and the Order, of great might.

5 "The town of Kalyāṇi shines with her palaces, bodhi trees, her superb cloisters and mandapas, with walls, halls, image temples and cetiyas, with her gorgeous shops, her

6 splendid gate-towers and arches." Now to the South of this town Kalyāṇi which is described in such words, which

<sup>1</sup> According to the Hāpugastenna inscr. (JBA8, C. B. xxii, nr. 65, p. 502, Coombes, H.C., p. 89) Parakkamabāhu V. ascended the throne simultaneously with Bhuvanekabāhu IV. in the year 1344/5. He reigned for a time (probably till 1356/7) with him and after that along with Vikramabāhu IV. (I.L. according to C.L.)

<sup>2</sup> For inscr. of the time of Vikramabāhu IV. see B.A.L., Report on the Kigalla District, p. 78. According to the inscr. of Vigilaratna (not far from Gampola), the fourth year of the King's reign coincides with the end of the Saka year 1282 = 1360 A. D., his ascent of the throne falls therefore in 1360/7 A. D.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. Peradeniya not far from Kandy on the Mahareliganga.

<sup>4</sup> Our chronicle makes short work of the undoubtedly eminent personality of this man. There is a good deal more about the founder of Jayavandhana in the Hājūv., the Rājāvratna and the Nik.s. What is above all important is that Alagakkonāra succeeded in breaking the power of the Jaffna king which was then at its height. Cf. also below note to v. 9. For the Kītsirīmeran inscription of Kejinni and the Alagakkonāra mentioned in it see C. A. L. R. I., p. 192; II, p. 149, 182.

was visited by the great Sage, in a place where pious people dwelt, who were devoted<sup>1</sup> to the Buddha and so forth, on the great lake not far from the spacious village of Dārugāma<sup>2</sup>, he built the famous town of Jayavāḍjhānakotṭa<sup>3</sup>, embellished with great trains of walls, with gateways, bastions and the like. While he dwelt in the town, the mighty one, craving for meritorious works, performed many good deeds; such as the furthering of the Order and the rest. In that town the 9 fifth Bhuvanekabāhu<sup>4</sup> was (king), religious, revering with constant reverence the Buddha and the other (sacred) objects.

<sup>1</sup> The single words in this compound are placed with great freedom. *Buddhādīyatajāmākappitādhanī* stands evidently for *buddhādī-yatā-mā-jāmā-kappitā-dhanī*. *Buddhādī* stands for Bodhi, Dhamma and Sopiba. *Yatā* means in the first place "joined with something", then "hanging on, adhering to something"; *Kappitā* means "provided with something".

<sup>2</sup> The village is called *an* in the Itājārata. Thus *Dīnāragama* in the Mīva, stands instead of *na-Dīnāragama*.

<sup>3</sup> Later simply called *Gotta* by the Portuguese. The town covered what are now the eastern districts of Colombo.

<sup>4</sup> As in 90. 64, 45, thus also must be supplemented by *raja*, or else *aha* (*asi*) has the more pregnant meaning "he lived, he reigned". I do not believe that the Mīva, considers Bhuvanekabāhu to be the name under which Alagakkānā reigned. This opinion is found only in the Rājārata, when it says: *Alagakkāna nāmā mantrīśāranyaṁ Bhuvanekabāhu-nāmā mantrīraja-nāmā Gaṅgāśiripura rājyaśāriya-saṁpāda devalo gīyē* "The great minister Alagakkāna by name who had become king under the name of Bhuvanekabāhu went, after enjoying in Gaṅgāśiripura the good fortune of the royal dignity, to the world of the gods." But in the Mīva, we should, in this case, expect an *asi* or *ti vāmanā* after *Bhuvanekabāhu*. The assumption that Alagakkānā and Bhuvanekabāhu are one and the same has now been given up (cf. JRAS. C. II, XXIV, nr. 43, p. 103, note <sup>2</sup>) above all because in the Athungālu-vihāravuṇḍa it is said that the work was translated in the Saka year 1904 (= 13825) in the reign of Bhuvanekabāhu, at the instigation of Alukēvara (or Alugakkānā). — The tradition followed by the Rājārata, probably confuses Alugakkānā with his son Vīra Alukēvara who (under the name of Vijayabāhu) is said to have reigned a number of years as king, though after Vīrabāhu's death. For further particulars see E. W. PERERA, Alukēvara: his Life and Times, JRAS. C. II, xviii, Nr. 60 (1904), p. 281 ff.; H. W. CONGERSON, HC, p. 85, 89. Cf. below, note to r. 14.

10 To the community he dispensed in abundant measure regular repasts and other alms and to achieve the furtherance of the  
 11 Order, he gathered the bhikkhus together, ascertained those  
 who lived immoral lives and had them cast forth from the  
 Order, but he showed favour to the conscientious obtained for  
 them the precedence and so made the Order of the Victor  
 12 shine. For seven thousand pieces of silver he had a casket  
 fashioned, preserved in it the Tooth Relic and sacrificed to it  
 in lasting reverence.

13 When the time of this King — after he had held sway  
 for twenty years<sup>1</sup> — had expired, a man called Virabahu  
 14 attained the royal dignity, did likewise all (that was good)  
 such as furthering the Order and fell under the power of the  
 King of death<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The 20th year of the reign of Bhāvanekabāhu V. falls in the year 1391/2 A. D., the beginning of the reign accordingly in 1372/3. It seems, however, that he reigned for some time, if only in name, together with Virabahu. Cf. S. de Silva, *Vijaya Rāhu VI*, JRAS, C. B. xxii, no. 66, p. 346 ff.; H. W. Coomaraswamy, HC, p. 89. In the inscription on the Alampurēli plate (see V. VAKKARYA, El. III, p. 224 ff.) King Virūpākṣa of the Vijayanagara Dynasty, boasts that he had vanquished the Kings of the Tungabāra, Coja and Pāṇḍya as well as the Sripatha. The inscription is dated in the Salva year 1305 for 1367 = 1383/4.

<sup>2</sup> The Mhv. passes over here a very remarkable episode in the history of Ceylon the knowledge of which we owe above all to Chinese sources. (Cf. J. M. SENAYAKA according to SŪRAYA LĀVĀ, JRAS, C. B. xxiv, nr. 68, p. 98 ff.; further xxviii, nr. 73, p. 51 ff.) and to the Rājāv. From the different sources we gather that the son of the great Alugakkonāra, Viru Mahāvāra, under the name of Vijayabāhu (VI.) seized the royal dignity in battle with his brother Virabahu. During his reign in Jaya-vādjhānakotipura a Chinese expedition of the Emperor Yung-lo under the leadership of Tséng-g-huo came to Ceylon. The Chinese came into conflict with the Sinhalese ruler who is called A-le-ko-na-p (Alugakkonāra) and took the king away with them as prisoner. The Rājāv. calls the leader of the Chinese Ma-hā-Cin-Desraja, the king taken prisoner by him, Vijayabāhu. Here then instead of the family name, the adopted name is given. Now it seems to me that by confusing this Vijayabāhu (VI.) with V. IV. the above discussed gap in the Rājāv. is explained (note to 80. 1). The probability of a mistake is supported by the fact that the Rājāv. speaks of four younger brothers of King V., who are said to

Then at a later time, in the year one thousand nine hundred and fifty-three after the final Nirvana of the holy Enlightened One, came King Parakkamabāhu<sup>1</sup>, an abode of wisdom and manly virtue, a son of the race of the Sun, in the charming town named Jayavajjhana — to the incomparable, sublime fortune of the royal dignity and with faith in the three (sacred) jewels, he set about the holding of a festival. For the teeth of the Prince of the wise the Ruler built a three-storeyed, splendid pāsāda which offered a superb sight. Then he fashioned a golden casket, fair, beautifully set with the nine precious stones, and another casket in the form of a shell, gleaming in manifold splendour and set with the most exquisite jewels and which held the first casket; and yet another golden casket into which he also put the second. Finally the King who strove after salvation in the present as

have been murdered. Now Vijayabāhu IV. had in fact four brothers according to *Mhvs.* 97. 16-17. According to the *Rājūc.* the capture took place A. D. 1068 = 1404 A. D. For the whole see *Commissaris HC.* p. 86 f., 89. If one accepts this Vijayabāhu who is omitted in the *Mhvs.*, as the sixth of the name in the list of the kings, then instead of Vijayabāhu VI. (92. 4) one must read Vijayabāhu VII.

<sup>1</sup> The *Mhvs.* has nothing to say about the events which preceded the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI. Cf. for this H. W. Coer掌提, *HC.*, p. 85 ff., 89. The date given in the *Mhvs.* for the beginning of the reign 1068 A. D. = 1409 A. D. is also found in the *Saṅdharmālaṅkāra*. In another passage however in this work the date is given as 1068 A. D. = 1414 A. D. The name in the *īśvara* of *Pepiliyuna* (see below, note to v. 24). It may be assumed as probable that Parakkamabāhu VI. came to the throne in 1419, remained three years in Rayigam (District Kalutara, Census of Ceylon 1921, II, p. 44) and removed in 1422 to Jayavajjhana where the coronation took place. The *Mhvs.* has hardly anything of historical value either to tell us about the reign of Parakkamabāhu VI., except perhaps in v. 24, that his mother's name was Sunetta. It is a great pity that the compiler of the third part of the *Cūlava* restricts himself almost entirely to stereotyped descriptions of festivals for the Tooth Relic. Our knowledge of modern events is gained from quite other sources. In the first place there is the *Rājāyana*, also in the version given by Valentyn (*Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indië*, vol. V); further De Groot and Dr. Evans (see D. Evans, *The History of Ceylon, from the Earliest Times to 1600 A. D.* as related by de Barro and de Costa,

in future existences<sup>1</sup>, made a (fourth) large, incomparably magnificent casket which he covered with gold of the finest lustre, and in these four superb caskets he placed the tooth.

20 Then calling to mind all the festivals in *Lankā* celebrated by kings who were filled with pure reverence for the sacred Order of the Enlightened One, he thought: "I too will in like manner venerate him unweariedly with all the produce of my kingdom<sup>2</sup>." With such reverential thoughts he celebrated in his faith sacrificial festivals in all manner of ways for the reliques and the like. To the community he dispensed regular repasts,

22 together with the eight articles of equipment, month by month, as well as every year sacrificial offerings and a gift

23 of *kathina* robes for the *bhikkhus* in the three provinces and a great almsgiving in pious fashion and garments every year and thereby he, the highly famed, who longed for merit, laid

24 up merit. In memory of his mother the meritorious (King) had erected in the *Pappata* grove<sup>3</sup> in her name the *Sunetrā-*

25 *pariveya*<sup>4</sup> and a monastery for the community and granted it

26 many villages and fields<sup>5</sup>. Then putting down in that selfsame

place an abundant alms destined for the community, to be distributed for three days among the ascetics who had come

JRAS. C. B. xx, nr. 60 (1909), p. 14f. For the reign of Parakkamabahu VI, I refer the reader besides Chamsarak, I. c. p. 80 ff., 99 f., to E. W. Peck, The Age of Sri Parakkamabahu VI, JRAS. C. B. xxi, nr. 63 (1911), p. 6 ff. For inscriptions of this king see E. Meijer, AIE. no. 166; H. C. P. Bell, Report on the Kegalle District, p. 81 ff.

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the meaning of *bhāvavibhūta*. Cf. below v. 36.

<sup>2</sup> In these last *pariveyas* the language is treated with extraordinary arbitrariness. The construction of the compounds and the position of the words in them is often quite contrary to rule. The translation can therefore only give the general meaning of such passages.

<sup>3</sup> The name is preserved in that of the *Pappiyana-vihāra* not far from Colombo (Census, 1921, vol. II, p. 96). An inscription in this monastery is dated in the 89th year of the reign of Parakkamabahu VI. The date of his ascent of the throne is given as A. D. 1138 = 1514.

<sup>4</sup> *Sunetrā* or *Sunetrādevī*, the wife of Vijayabahu (VI) who is supposed to be the father of Parakkamabahu VI, was a Kālinga princess.

<sup>5</sup> *Gāmatiket* is governed by *piyāra* in 26 c. Thus in my edition the column must be placed after *piyāra*, not after *tegāpāra*.

from the three provinces, he laid up in pious fashion an abundance of merit. He had the sacred three Pitakas together with the 27 commentaries and the *tiikas* copied and caused a summary of the teaching of the Buddha<sup>1</sup> (to be made). He also granted 28 villages and the like to the scribes, that they might copy day by day the books of the true doctrine. Whatever had fallen 29 into decay on the Mahiyangana-cetiya and other cetiyas everywhere he had renewed and the plaster coating repaired. In 30 the same way he had all the stucco work and so forth carried out on the Gajalādipi monastery and on the Lankātilaka<sup>2</sup> and others. While celebrating a great feast and a great 31 sacrificial festival he repeatedly had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed. Thus the wise Lord of men having 32 taken on himself the burden of government and wrought good for fifty and two years<sup>3</sup>, bestowed on the bhikkhu community, 33 serving it in faith, twenty-six thousand one hundred and forty times the three garments and other articles of equipment and 34 three thousand four hundred and thirty-two kathina robes. Piously devoted to the three (sacred) objects he who greatly 35 venerated the Order of the Victor, dispensed immeasurable wealth and in this wise did all kinds of good.

Powered with faith, discernment and charitableness, a superb jewel of virtue, he recognizing the worthlessness of acquired riches, performed in such wise, continually, unweariedly meritorious works. When ye have understood that, ye as those who know and are striving after salvation in this existence and in future existences<sup>4</sup>, should also continually and in the

<sup>1</sup> I take *abhikkasen vibhāvanayagaha* not to mean this and refer the reader to titles of books like *Abhidhammatthasangaha*, *Paccayastupagaha*, *Suddhammasangaha* etc. W. gives a totally different rendering. He takes *sayaha* in the sense of "kindness, protection, favour" and translates: "encouraged the religion of Buddha". It seems to me, moreover, that in vv. 27 and 28 special stress is laid on the literary activity of the King. Of course he only suggested the work.

<sup>2</sup> Both vibhāras, Gajaladeniya and Lankātilaka are situated not far from Kandy.

<sup>3</sup> Bājāv. and Rājaputa, have the same.

<sup>4</sup> See above note to v. 19.

right way do a quantity of meritorious works<sup>1</sup> which bestow you many a happiness.

Here ends the ninety-first chapter, called «History of the Four Kings, of Parakkavimbāhu and his Successors», in the *Mahāvamsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> For listed *gāyatrīta* cf. 90, 104 with the note.

## CHAPTER XCII

HISTORY OF THE SEVEN KINGS,  
OF JAYABĀHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

After his death, his grandson Jayabāhu<sup>1</sup> became king; 1 then Bhuvanekabāhu, after he had murdered him (Jayabāhu). After obtaining the royal consecration, he lived seven years. 2 After his death Parakkamabāhu known on account of his learning by the name of Pañjita, was king in that fair town, 3 and hereafter Viraparakkamabāhu. On his death Vijaya-

<sup>1</sup> The kings in vv. 1-5 are numbers 108 (169) to 118 (178) of my list. Parakkamabāhu VIII. had two sons: Vijayabāhu VI. (VII.) and Dharmapakkamabāhu IX. Both seem to have been made co-regents by their father in the year 1609. But Parakkamabāhu IX., although he lived at least till 1628, was apparently of no great influence. He is not at all mentioned in our chronicle. — The Rājāv. makes Viraparakkamabāhu, not Jayabāhu, the successor of Parakkamabāhu VI. The same name appears again however later as that of Pañjita-Parakkamabāhu's successor. The Rājanātha inserts a king Virabāhu before Jayabāhu to whom a reign of 12 years is ascribed. The list of the kings (= Mvra. 92. 1-6) in the Siamese chronicles is as follows:

Rājāv. Viraparakkamabāhu	Rājāv. Virabāhu (12 yrs.)
(1468-1472/3)	Jayabāhu
Bhuvanekabāhu (VI) (7 yrs.)	Bhuvanekabāhu
(1472/3-1480/1)	
Pañjita-Parakkamabāhu (VII)	Pañjita-Parakkamabāhu
1480/1-1484	
Vim-Parakkamabāhu (VIII) (20 yrs.)	Vim-Parakkamabāhu
? 1484-1512	
Dharana-Parakkamabāhu (22 yrs.)	
1509-1528	
Vijayabāhu (VI)	
1509-1521	
Bhuvanekabāhu (VII)	Bhuvanekabāhu
1521-1551	

bahu was king whose adornment was his virtue, and after his death Bhuvanekabahu was king. And after these kings, each according to his faith and his power, had achieved the furtherance of the laity and the Order, they went thither in accordance with their deeds.

6 Now Viravikrama a mighty man, sprung from the line of Sirisamghabodhi<sup>1</sup>, became king in the year two thousand and eighty-four after the final Nirvana of the Enlightened One<sup>2</sup>.

7 Dwelling in the town of Senikhapasela-Sirivaddhana<sup>3</sup>, beautified by the course of the Mahavilukagangā, he gladdened his subjects by the four heart-winning qualities and undertook in his faith meritorious works. The fair relic of the Prince of the wise he brought to a piece of land charmingly situated 10 not far from his royal palace. Then he built a cetiya and

The years of the reigns are given according to *Commissary* (HC, p. 29 ff.)  
 Inscriptions: Bhuvanekabahu VI., inscr. of Dedigama, *Bell, Report of Kegalla Dist.*, p. 28 ff.; Vijayabahu VI., *ibid.* p. 25 ff. (on the Kebuni inscr. and Dharmaparakramabahu, *ibid.* p. 26); Bhuvanekabahu VII., *JRAS* C. B. XXII, no. 65, p. 267 ff. See further below, note to 96. b. The history and chronology of Ceylon at the end of the Middle Ages suffer particularly from the fact that the island was not under one dominion but was split up into several kingdoms. Thus kings who were contemporaries are represented as succeeding one another. The kings in the above list reigned in Kotte (Dharmaparakramabahu perhaps in Kelani). Then in addition to these there are the dynasties of Sitāvaka and Kandy. Viravikrama (v. 6) is according to *Wickremasinha* (EZ, III, p. 44) probably identical with Kumāra Bayājāra, the son of Vijaya Bādāra who reigned in Kandy at the time of Vijayabahu VI. (VII.) and Bhuvanekabahu VII.

<sup>1</sup> *Maha*, 36, 72 ff.

<sup>2</sup> = 1540 A. D. Rajarata, bns 2085 A. K. = 1541 A. D.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. Kandy. The account evidently goes back here to the rise of the kingdom of Kandy, the high country (*uva-sala*) that did its utmost to preserve its independence as against the kings in Kotte and Sitāvaka until it fell under the power of Rājapala in 1580. It is regrettable that the compiler has no interest in political questions, but considers only the relations of the kings to the Order. To judge by the number of figures contained in his narrative, it looks as if he had consulted a *prānapoththaka* (cf. *Maha*, 32, 23 ff.) i. e. a book in which the meritorious works of the king are inscribed.

near to it a two-storeyed house for the Uposatha<sup>1</sup> ceremony, as well as round about the town eighty-six dwellings for the 11 community furnished with a roofing of brick and so forth, made the bhikkhus take up their abode here and there, granted them maintenance and heard preached the true doctrine of the Victor. After celebrating a magnificent sacrificial 12 festival, he hearkened in faith to fifty-five sermons of the doctrine the preaching whereof lasted the whole night. On 13 thirty thousand leaves he had (sacred) books written down and to the Tipitaka he made an offering of sixty thousand (gold pieces). He had one hundred and eighty images made 14 of the Enlightened One and one hundred and thirty caskets for the placing therein of relics and so hid up a store of meritorious works. He left his town, wandered on foot<sup>2</sup> for 15 a day a distance of seven gāvutas<sup>3</sup> and venerated Mahiyāṅgāpa 16 by celebrating with divers fragrant flowers, with lamps, frankincense and the like, a great festival. The Ruler of men 17 betook himself also in one day to the Sumannikīṭa<sup>4</sup> and sacrificed there by pouring one hundred jars of oil into a lamp fifteen cubits in girth and five cubits high<sup>5</sup>. [Since his desire was fixed 18 on the highest path<sup>6</sup>, he had the impassable road<sup>7</sup> put in

<sup>1</sup> P. *deikkamakap uposathāvihāra* is curious. *Mahākā* is otherwise only an enclosed open space, a courtyard, serving for the holding of certain ceremonies. *Jāṭhikāvihāra* as attribute of *mahākā* is unsuitable. In other instances moreover, we have only *uposathāgṛha*, *uposathāvihāra*, *uposathāgṛha*, showing that a house is meant. If this were not the case in our verse we might have here a structure of the type of a "double platform", E. R. Amros, *Mémoirs*, ASC. I. p. 18 ff.; A. M. Hoerst, *ibid.*, p. 57 ff.; the same in *Cousserans*, IIC. p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. with the power of his own feet.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. about 14 miles. Mahiyāṅgāpa, now Alut-murura, is 24 miles distant from Kandy as the crow flies. The King's pilgrimage is of course to the Mahiyāṅgāpa-tilpā.

<sup>4</sup> Adam's Peak cannot be reached in one day from Kandy.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of the passage is clear, but the language incorrect. The circumference of the bowl into which the oil was poured, would be about 22 ft. the height about 7 ft.

<sup>6</sup> I. e. on the road leading to the highest perfection, to salvation, the path of good works.

<sup>7</sup> Of course the road up to Adam's Peak.

order and provided, for the convenience of the (pilgrims) going  
 19 to and fro, with seven hundred and eighty stone steps. After  
 the Ruler had in this and other ways performed many meri-  
 torious works, he thought to hold the ceremony of admission  
 20 to the Order.] The wise (Prince) had many dwellings put  
 up on the bank of the river. Thither he brought the bhikkhus  
 21 dwelling in the three provinces and instituted a great festival.  
 Then after specially inviting from among those bhikkhus a  
 body of thirty-five bhikkhus with the Grand thera Dhammaka-  
 kitti at the head, he made them celebrate a great festival  
 22 and grant admission to the Order to three hundred and fifty-  
 five able sons of good family whom he had himself chosen  
 23 out. The King heard that in the town of Pāṇiputta<sup>1</sup> (in  
 days of yore), the Ruler of men Mahāsena had fed daily a  
 24 community of one thousand bhikkhus, but unsatisfied even  
 with this magnificent effort, he had thought of giving alms  
 25 by the cultivation of a piece of land<sup>2</sup>. He had surrendered  
 the bliss of the royal dignity, betaken himself to the northern  
 town of Madhurā<sup>3</sup>, there laboured and with the grain produced,  
 26 had in faith made an offering of alms. When<sup>4</sup> he heard this  
 the wise (Prince) who had joy in a pure gift of alms, culti-  
 vated a rice field with his own bodily powers and instituted  
 27 with the grain produced, in blameless fashion, an offering of  
 alms. With faith in the three (sacred) objects he presented

<sup>1</sup> Capital of the Maurya dynasty, now Pāṭna in the province of Bihār on the Ganges.

<sup>2</sup> *P. ratthasandhiya karitvā*, lit. "after he had carried out the  
 cleansing of a piece of ground." Field cultivation is considered the  
 purest and noblest work. An offering of that which has been acquired  
 by such work, an offering of field products is therefore characterised as  
*subhādram* (v. 26).

<sup>3</sup> The town Madhurā or Mathurā on the Yamunā (Jumna), to  
 distinguish it from the South Indian Madhurā (tl. BH etc.) is called the  
 "Northern Madhurā".

<sup>4</sup> Vrs. 23—26 are one sentence; *dānamādām* in v. 26 is a object  
 directly governed by *satruṇi*. The preceding verses with *Mahāsena* as  
 subject are however, so constructed as if it were *dānam adhikāti satruṇi*.  
 The author fails in the construction.

an offering of two thousand one hundred and eighty-two garments. Spending five hundred and eighty-seven thousand 26 pieces of money, the King had meritorious works performed therewith. Sixty and two elephants and horses and four 29 hundred and fifty head of cattle and buffaloes did the Ruler of men offer in sacrifice. Striving thus and in many other 30 ways after good, he performed many meritorious works and made himself a pathway to heaven.

Thus he performed in faith, steadfast, rejoicing in the 31 welfare of others, after discerning the worthlessness of acquired corporeal existence and other (possessions), in pious manner many meritorious works which bring many a happiness. If ye then have discerned this, as people who have great fear of the terrible evil of the cycle of rebirths, then must ye, remembering what is of true worth, relinquish all desire for corporeal existence and the like (possessions) and strive unweariedly after meritorious works.

Here ends the ninety-second chapter, called «History of the Seven Kings, of Jayasūha and his Successors», in the Mahāvīra, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

## CHAPTER XCIII

HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS,  
OF MĀYĀDHANU AND OF HIS SUCCESSOR

1 At his death there resided in the province bordering on the sea-coast, in the fair and renowned Jayavudhunakotja 2 (and elsewhere) here and there kings sprung from the race of the Sun. Amongst these there was one, the illustrious Ruler 3 of men, Māyādhana<sup>1</sup> by name. His son was the mighty Rajasinha by name. He went forth, sought here and there

<sup>1</sup> It is characteristic of the attitude of the author of this part of the *Mahāvansha* and of his indifference to the significant events happening in the plains, that the Portuguese are not yet mentioned. They landed in 1505 or 1506 (cf. D. Fariaes, *The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1505*, JRAS, C. B. XIX, No. 62 (1907), p. 284 ff.) and had their chief seat in Colombo, in the fort which they had built there. It is just as characteristic that a man of the importance of Māyādhana (Māyādhana) is dismissed with the mention of his name. He was the youngest brother of Bhuvanekabāhu VII., and at the division of the kingdom in A. D. 1521, had received the region between the coast land and the mountains with Sitāvaka as capital. Sitāvaka is the present Arisarella about 26 miles east of Colombo, situated on a left tributary of the Keluniganga. In a series of severe and fluctuating struggles with his brother and his successor, as well as with the Portuguese, for the supreme dominion in Ceylon, Māyādhana maintained himself successfully till his death in 1581. Dharmapāla (1560–1597) the feeble successor of Bhuvanekabāhu VII. who was completely dependent on the Portuguese, adopting Christianity (about 1557) in order to maintain himself with their help — is not even mentioned in the *Mahāvansha*. As a historical source our chronicle is now hardly of any value at all. Of native sources there is only the *Rājāvalī* left and it has many defects. Our main information now comes from the Portuguese accounts, above all João Ruiz de Almeida, *Fathul-liddeh historien*, Lisbon 1696 (translated into English by P. E. Pires under the title "The Historic Tragedy of Ceylon", Colombo

and won the victory. The victor, the great fool, even slew 4 his own father<sup>1</sup> and brought the royal dignity into his power, the deluded one. In the town of Sālāvaka the King known 5 by the name of Rājasiha, for a time did good, devoted in faith to the Order. But one day the King, after he had brought 6 a gift of alms, asked the Grand Theras full of anxiety: "How 7 can I undo the crime of my father's murder?" Then the wise 8 theras expounded him the doctrine<sup>2</sup>, but could not win over the wicked mind of this fool. They spoke: "To undo the 9 committed crime is impossible". Full of fury like some terrible poisonous snake which has been struck by a stick, he asked the adherents of Siva<sup>3</sup>. The answer they gave him that it

1925, 3rd ed.) and *Franzés em Quiçanox, Conquista temporal epiritual do Ceylão*, Colombo, Government Press, 1916. These sources have been utilized by P. E. Pires. Taking up the work begun by D. Fernandes (cf. above, as well as note to 91, 10), Pires published in the *JHAS*, XXI, No. 65, p. 267 ff., first the important article "The Date of Bhuvanekabahu VII.", the result of which was a complete transformation of the chronology of Ceylon in the 16th century. Then there appeared "Ceylon, the Portuguese Era" in 2 vols. Colombo, 1918-19 and "Ceylon and the Portuguese 1505-1658", Ceylon, 1920. (Cf. with this S. G. Pires, the 'Conquista de Ceylão' by Fregoso de Queiroz, S. J. in C. A. L. R. II, p. 158 ff.; 283 ff.; H. W. Coomaraswamy, D.C., p. 94 ff.). Then for a part of the 16th century there are the lately published Portuguese archives: "Ceylon in the time of King Bhuvanekabahu and Prince Naras 1539-1552", published and annotated by G. Sircar and E. A. Verhaegen, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1928. Again "Ceylon and Portugal", pt. I, Kings and Christians 1539-1552, from the original documents at Lisbon, by P. E. Pires and M. A. H. França. Sircar's introduction to the first volume of the work mentioned above, gives a complete bibliography, a sketch of the history of the Island 1539-1552 from the Portuguese documents and a detailed analysis of the narratives hitherto existing.

<sup>1</sup> Whether Rājasiha who was a magnificent general and had distinguished himself at the age of 11 by his bravery, was really his father's murderer, may be doubted. Cf. note below to v. B.

<sup>2</sup> I now prefer to read *tassa dhammaya* instead of *tesy' adhammaya*.

<sup>3</sup> The motives alleged here for Rājasiha's conversion to Hinduism scarcely accord with the facts. The real reason for it was that the Buddhist priesthood who had always been favoured by him and his father Mayällame, actually joined a conspiracy got up against him by

was possible, he received like ambrosia, smeared his body with 10 ashes and adopted the religion of Siva. He annihilated the Order of the Victor, slew the community of the bhikkhus, 11 burned the sacred books, destroyed the monasteries and thus barred his way to heaven. Become a (dead) tree-trunk in the 12 cycle of rebirths, he adopted a false faith. He placed miscreant ascetics of false faith on the Sumanakūṭa to take for themselves all the profit accruing therefrom. In this way the 13 impious fool as he did not know what he should accept and accepted what he should not have accepted, brought great evil upon himself.

14 At that time through fear of the King, bhikkhus left the Order; those among them who were swayed by fear of the cycle of rebirths, went hither and thither.

15 Hurting the welfare of the whole laity and of the stainless Order of the Buddha, he carried on the government only in 16 virtue of merit formerly acquired. Dowered with sovereign might, the criminal brought the whole island of Lanka into his power and carried on the government<sup>1</sup>.

17 Thus this monarch, equipped with royal might, manifested his sovereign power; but after heaping up every kind of crime, he fell under the dominion of Māra. When one thus perceives the misfortune that meets one who through sinful and false belief has become the victim of delusion, one should in fear, free from all inclination to carelessness, bring about much blessing.

Here ends the ninety-third chapter, called «History of the Two Kings, of Mayūdhānu and of his Successor», in the Mahāvansha, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

the Portugese. To justify their treacherous conduct, these clerics may also have invented the murder of Rājastha. Cf. Poems 2, p. 91. See also W. P. GESAWANDESSA, Rāja Singha I, Parricide and Centenarian, JRAS, C.B. xviii, Nr. 56 (1905), p. 382 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The year of his death is given by the Rājāya, as 1014 of the Śaka era = 1392/3 A. D. How great was the admiration of the people for this "lust great king of the Sinhalese race" is shown by the fact that even to-day he receives divine honours under the name of Gunegoda Deviyo. Poems 2, p. 114.

## CHAPTER XCIV

## HISTORY OF KING VIMALADHAMMASURIYA

In the days of this King a scion of the Sun Dynasty in 1 Gangasipura had betaken himself to the harbour of Kolemba<sup>1</sup>. As he did not receive permission to remain there, he went to 2 the province of Gova. After he had dwelt here a long time, he slew a mighty and famous chieftain by name Gajabahu<sup>2</sup>. 3 After the victory he received distinctions of many kinds, and because in his prudence he understood the favorable moment, 4 returned to Laikā. The mighty one brought the troops of the five districts of the highland country over to his side and after the death of (Hūjasihā) the slayer of his father,<sup>3</sup> 5 when the year two thousand, one hundred and thirty-five from the nirvana of the Master<sup>4</sup> had arrived, he (the prince), 6 full of faith, mighty by reason of his merit, became king under the name of Vimaladhammasuriya, highly famed, in the town of Sirivallabha.

<sup>1</sup> Konappa, later Vimaladhammasuriya was a son of Virasundara who belonged to the royal house. Virasundara was partisan of Rajasinha, but was slain by him for having conspired against him. His son fled to Colombo (*Kolambattha*) to the puppet king Muhammāda. Later he was banished to Gova (*Govaramba*) where he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Portuguese. *Pitaka 2*, p. 92 f., 112; *Comissões*, HC., p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> It was the case of a duel with a pugnacious officer. The episode is related also in the *Bhājav.* (p. 92 of B. Goyakarana's translation). Konappa's success may have drawn the attention of the Portuguese to him.

<sup>3</sup> Rajasinha is called *pitinhāla* here not on account of the murder of his father Māyādharm, but on account of that of Virasundara.

<sup>4</sup> A. D. 2135 = 1591 A. D. The date is right.

7 He surrounded the whole of the vast city with a massive  
 8 wall on the heights of which he had placed at intervals eighteen  
 9 tower structures. Then to ward off the foe, he posted sentries,  
 10 freed the whole kingdom of Lankā from all oppression and  
 11 after he had raised a princess of equal birth to the rank of  
 12 first minister and had received his consecration as King, this  
 13 virtuous (prince) who in his faith desired meritorious works,  
 14 set about furthering the laity and the Order. The Ruler of  
 15 men reflected where the tooth of the Enlightened One could  
 16 be, and when he heard it was in the Labujagāma-Vihāra<sup>1</sup>, he  
 17 rejoiced greatly. He had the Tooth Relic which had been  
 18 brought to Labujagāma in the province of Sāparagama<sup>2</sup> fetched  
 19 (thence) and in order to venerate it day by day in his own  
 20 fair town and to dedicate a ritual to it, the wise (prince) had  
 21 a two-storeyed, superb relic temple erected on an exquisitely  
 22 beautiful piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the royal  
 23 palace. Here he placed the tooth and in lasting devotion  
 24 brought offerings to it.

25 As there were no bhikkhus in the island of Lankā on whom  
 26 the ceremony of admission to the Order had been performed<sup>3</sup>, the  
 27 King sent officials to the country of Rakkhaṅga, invited  
 28 Nandiseakka and other bhikkhus, had them brought to the is-  
 29 land of Lankā, made them take up their abode in the noble  
 30 city of Sirivajjhana and cared for them in reverent manner.  
 31 Then in the Mahāvālukagangī, at the landing-place called  
 32 Gaṇḍambā, within a boundary drawn in the water<sup>4</sup>, he had

<sup>1</sup> I. e. Delgamuva, not far from Kurutī, north of Battangpura. The relic was preserved before that in Kotte. Cf. 91. 17 ff. Why it was taken from there to the monastery in Delgamuva is not known. Probably the idea was to save it from the Portuguese.

<sup>2</sup> Now Sabaragamuva. The province which stretches in front of the south-western slopes of the central mountains, bounded on the West by the West province and on the South by the South province.

<sup>3</sup> The cause of this decay of the Buddhist Church was in all probability due to the hostile attitude of Rājasthān towards it. Rakkhaṅga is the name of a district in Lower Burma, now Arakan. Cf. for this Puran 2, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. vātukkhepa-twiyam. For this term see note to 89, 70.

a fine building erected and thither in the year two thousand, 18 one hundred and forty after the nirvana of the Victor<sup>1</sup>, he led the bhikkhus, had the ceremony of admission to the Order 19 performed in this Great bhikkhu community on many of the sons of good family and thus protected the Order of the Enlightened One. And he also made many sons of good birth 20 submit themselves to the ceremony of renunciation of the world and provided them also abundantly with the four articles of use, and after he had in this and many other ways, striving 21 after good, performed many meritorious works, he cleared himself a pathway to heaven. Later the selfsame wise King 22 made his younger brother<sup>2</sup> who had gone through the ceremony of renunciation of the world and (as member) was in the Order of the Buddha, leave the Order, entrusted him with the burden of the government and then passed away in accordance with his deeds<sup>3</sup>.

In this wise the Monarch equipped with kingly power, 23 after performing many meritorious works, adoring the Order of the Victor, made manifest a blameless sovereign

<sup>1</sup> 2140 A. B. = 1594 A. D.

<sup>2</sup> Senaratna was Vimaladhammasuriya's cousin. We know however (see note to 63. 54) that cousins who are brother's sons call themselves brothers.

<sup>3</sup> Rājāv. gives as the year of his death 1535 of the Saka era = 1603/4 A. D. Of the mighty events which took place during the reign of Vimaladhammasuriya I. the Mahāvāpas says not a word. The whole period was filled with wars against the Portuguese and their protégé Dharmapāla which were carried on both sides with the greatest bitterness and even cruelty. In A. D. 1591 the Sinhalese destroyed a Portuguese force which had advanced to Kandy. Three years later Dharmapāla died after reigning nominally in Kotte 47 years. In his will he left his kingdom to the King of Portugal. The Portuguese solemnly took possession of the lowlands in the name of their sovereign. The kingdom of Kandy maintained its independence. During the reign of Vimaladhammasuriya the Sinhalese came for the first time into contact with the Dutch through the embassy under *Joris van Spilberg* which coming from the west coast of the Island in 1603, visited the court of Kandy. For the whole subject cf. Pierss 2, p. 112-160; Commissaris, H.C., p. 105 ff.

power<sup>1</sup>. And yet such a discerning man whose highest good was religion<sup>2</sup>, fell under the power of Māra: when one has once realised the permanent condition of misery and of all other (suffering), one must find his joy in unwearied striving.

Here ends the ninety-fourth chapter, called «History of King Viñālakkhanasuriya», in the Mahāvāyasa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The first two lines of the strophe resemble in wording the first strophe of 93.

<sup>2</sup> The sing. *entu* *saññādham* *titthi* must be referred to *methipa*: it is, as so often, placed within the sentence, instead of behind *titthi*.

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## CHAPTER XCV

## HISTORY OF KING SENĀRATANA

After Senāratana by name had received consecration as 1 king, dowered with meritorious works, such as generosity and the rest and at all times full of reverence, he inclined his 2 subjects to him by the four heart-winning qualities. He celebrated a festival for the Tooth Relic and a great alms-giving. The mahest of the (late) king who had been his elder 3 brother<sup>1</sup> he made his own first mahest and dwelt in that same town (of Siriyaljhana).

At that time merchants in the seaport of Kolamba who 4 had sojourned there a long time, had become puffed up with pride<sup>2</sup>. They were, all of them, the so-called Parangi<sup>3</sup>, heretical evil-doers, cruel and brutal. They spread themselves over several fair provinces, laid waste fields and gardens, 6 burned down houses and villages, destroyed the noble families and in this wise brought ruin on Sibula. They broke into 7 the towns, into the relic shrines and monasteries, destroyed the image houses, Bodhi trees, Buddha statues and so on, did 8 great harm to the laity and the Order, built at various places

<sup>1</sup> The wife of Vimaladharmasuriya I (see note to 91. 22) Dona Catherine, who was considered the rightful heiress to the kingdom of Kandy. Vimala had married her to give his reign a semblance of legitimacy. *Prache*, 2, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> P. ussawaka. W. "they waxed very strong", which is of course also possible.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. Franks, designation of the Portuguese who are mentioned here for the first time at a period when their power was declining. What is said in the sequel about the Portuguese agrees with what we know about Azavedo's procedure.

9 forts<sup>1</sup> and carried on war<sup>2</sup> unceasingly. King Senātana brought the Tooth Relic to a safe place in the province called Pañcasatā<sup>3</sup>, almost impassable owing to forests, mountains and rivers, made people dwell there who were entrusted with the preservation of the relic and thus protected the Tooth Relic well, showing it the usual reverence. Then he left the city (Sirivajjhama). Movable goods, the sons of the former king and the admirable Mahesi, excellent by wealth and virtue, who was pregnant, he took carefully with him in a litter<sup>4</sup> and betook himself to Mahiyangāya<sup>5</sup>. While he sojourned in this town the Queen bore under a particularly favorable constellation, a splendid son<sup>6</sup>, dowered with brilliant marks. At that time the leader of the foe saw at night a terror-stirring dream. From the east<sup>7</sup>, from that town (Mahiyangāya) there came a spark of the size of a glow-worm. Growing ever bigger it came to the centre of Kolaumbi, waxed here to unmeasured size and burned up everything at once. On that day in consequence of its splendour, the enemy who had penetrated to Sirivajjhama, took flight with the haste of those who are threatened with peril. The Ruler of men guarded his son

<sup>1</sup> P. *halokappala bandhita*. Cf. the name of the town Jayavajjhama-kolpa (91. 7) called Kotte for short.

<sup>2</sup> P. *yujhamāna thera*, a periphrastic formation corresponding to the Sinh. combination of the present gerund in *an* with the verb *siññā*. See GRAM. Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen § 63a. The root *thu* expresses a continuous state.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. Pananjapatti or Dambula, NE. of Kandy.

<sup>4</sup> P. *yaggena*, no doubt rightly explained by W.

<sup>5</sup> In the year 1611 A. D. the Portuguese general de Almeida advanced as far as Kandy. He found the town deserted and placing a garrison in Balana to secure the entrance to the mountains, he returned to Colombo. This is connected no doubt with what is related in v. 11-12. The date of the prince's birth must have been 1612 (see next note).

<sup>6</sup> This is the son of Sudarshana and Dona Catherina, the widow of his predecessor. He was called Mahā-Āsthāna and later as king called himself Rājāśāha. His stepbrothers Kunūśāha and Vijayapāla were the Queen's sons by her first marriage. See below v. 22.

<sup>7</sup> P. *paratthikāsīthāgā*. Wrongly translated "from the western side" by W.

who grew by degrees like another moon, and the other (sons) with the greatest ease, and when he saw that the right time 18 had come, he took all his possessions and returned to the city of Sirivuljhana. When his sons, namely the sons of the former 19 king and his own son, were grown up he, because his heart clung to them in love, was minded to divide amongst them 20 his mountain-girt provinces, and (their names) properly written on three leaves, laid the leaves near the 'Tooth Relic', let the 21 princes thither and made them take their choice. Then when 22 the Ruler beheld the leaves which fell in this wise: to the eldest Kumārasha the province Uva, to Vijayapala the province Matale and to the youngest Rajasinha the five highland 23 provinces<sup>1</sup> — he when he saw that the lot with the five highland 24 provinces had fallen to his own son, rejoiced greatly and he said: "He hath great merit."

The Ruler of men thus gave over the divers provinces to 25 his sons. Then, giving alms and performing other meritorious works according to his capacity, for the furthering of the people and the Order, he lived (yet) seven years<sup>2</sup>.

The Ruler who out of love had divided the provinces 26 among his own and his other sons in order to protect Lankā and this our Order was doomed then to inevitable death.

Here ends the ninety-fifth chapter, called «History of King Senāratana», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The lottery becomes in this way a sacred action, an oraculo. The division of the Kandy kingdom took place in 1628.

<sup>2</sup> *P. mitha purva rupikkā*. These are districts lying round about Kandy, the most important parts of the Kingdom with the capital. Uva embraces the eastern, Matale the northern districts. It should be noted that the form *Mahātū* for Matale is only found in the latest part of the *Chilavapana* (96. 4, 68. 65); in 66. 71 we have *Mahātū*.

<sup>3</sup> The year of his death is therefore 1655 A. D. The Rājāv. gives 1555 of the Saka era = 1655/4 A. D. One must assume that from 1628 to 1655 Rājasinha was reigning along with his father. Kumārasha had died before Senāratana, as is pointed out by the Rājāv. The struggles with the Portuguese lasted with fluctuating success throughout Senāratana's reign. Of importance are the negotiations of the Sinhalese King with the Dutch which began in the year 1642. For a time (in 1648) the Dutch tried to get a footing on the island. For the whole subject see Pissis, 2, p. 171-221; Cunningham, I. c., p. 109 ff.

## CHAPTER XCVI

## HISTORY OF KING RĀJASĪHA

1 Now while these Rulers of men, sojourning in different places, enjoyed for a short time the pleasures of the royal 2 dignity in harmony, they carried on war against the Parangis and gained here and there victories<sup>1</sup>. But then they quarrelled 3 among themselves, the three brothers, the Lords of men. One of them, the renowned Rājasiha by name, dispossessed the 4 older brothers and made them his vassals. After one (Kumāra-  
siha) had been put to death by poison, the other (Vijayapāla  
who dwelt) in Mūlā, mounted a chariot, and started off with  
one man whom he took with him and betook himself after  
5 crossing the frontier of the province, abroad<sup>2</sup>. But the other,  
Rājastha<sup>3</sup>, a man whose commands were not lightly to be

<sup>1</sup> In the year 1630 A. D. the prince won a brilliant victory at Randeswela in lower Uva over the Portuguese who had occupied Iladulla and had plundered and set fire to the town. The Portuguese general, Constantino de Sa y Noronha fell himself in the battle. Four years later (1634) Kumārasīha was removed by poison, and to this time belong the first disagreements between Vijayapāla and Rājastha. There must however, have been a reconciliation, for Vijayapāla took part in the battle of Gannoruwa in 1638 and the victory of the Sinhalese was largely owing to him. The Portuguese under the leadership of their captain-general Diogo de Mello had occupied and destroyed Kandy, but they evacuated the town and on their retreat were surrounded and annihilated. See below note on v. 22. The successes in war of the Sinhalese against the Portuguese are glorified in the poems *Kostantinapāṇi* and *Mahākāṣṭa*. See A. de Silva, JRAS. C. B. xxiiv, No. 68 (1915-16), p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> For Vijayapāla's tragic fate according to Portuguese documents, see P. E. Pires, The Prince Vijayapāla of Ceylon, 1634-1654, Colombo 1928.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps "the second (ṛipravī) Rājastha".

slighted, difficult to attack, hard to vanquish, of a lion-like courage, took possession of the kingdom as it had at the beginning belonged to his father; as if he had been created by gods, pious in the faith, for the furthering of laity and Order, he was mighty, dowered with the bravery of war-skilled heroes.

Once upon a time indulging in youthful sports, he went a-riding with a companion who had mounted an other horse, himself on horseback. At a given sign, the horse ran along the street, but sank in a marshy place. Determined and courageous, the powerful (prince) sprung aloft, swung himself on to the horse of his next companion throwing off its rider and rode on his saddle further. At the dangerous ford of the Gaṅgā, which is called Suvaṇṇadhamma<sup>1</sup>, he sprang from the rock on this side and reached the rock on the opposite bank.

After manifesting in this and in many other ways, his strength, the greatly renowned (prince) cherished the wish to care for the furtherance of laity and Order. He prepared every kind of implement of war and the rest, took in order to open the fight, the battle-equipped Sthānas and set forth under a favorable constellation, at a happy moment from the town of Sirivallhaṇa with elephants, steeds and princely retinue, with great warriors and so on, with great dignitaries and so on, with foot soldiers who bore bows, swords, spears and other weapons, in front the music with drums, kettledrums and other instruments. In order to acquire merit by the giving of alms and the like, the King took also the sons of Buddha<sup>2</sup> with him, marched hither and thither, made the sound of the war drums resound like the terrible clash of thunder and fearless began the fight. At first he fought a great battle with the foe in the five highland provinces<sup>3</sup>, slew many of

<sup>1</sup> Now Rantentota, ford over the Mahaveliganga.

<sup>2</sup> I. e. bhikkhus.

<sup>3</sup> P. pāncaśilāraffhayahe. Here we have another example of the Indness of the Sinhalese language. -gehe is equivalent to the Singh. -a, the genitive suffix, and is used as postposition with local meaning. As to the beginning of such forms in an inscription of the 10th century see Wijesekhara, EZ. I. 152.

18 the miscreants and drove the powerful wretched enemies from every place; breaking down their strongholds, the Ruler of  
 19 men remained victorious. The foes fled, looking on every side  
   (for safety), tortured with fear, flung themselves from the  
 20 mountain precipices, sprang into the mountain gorges and were  
   scattered as cotton in the wind, when he rushed into the  
 21 battle-field like a terrible lion that has broken into a herd  
 22 of elephants<sup>1</sup>. After fighting again and again in different  
 23 places with the foe and killing and putting to flight numbers  
 24 of people on the side of the enemy, he conquered several  
 25 provinces, freed them from oppression, destroyed the strong-  
   holds and so manifested his great power<sup>2</sup>.

23 There were however, many of the enemy who tortured by  
 24 fear, had hidden themselves and escaped. They stayed for a  
   time in the fortresses at the various places near to the sea,  
   then these heretical villains began again and again to plunder  
 25 the different provinces. When Rājāśāha whose commands were  
   not lightly to be slighted, heard thereof, he betook himself  
 26 to Dīghavāpi<sup>3</sup> which lies to the East. While he, experienced  
   in all the statecraft taught by Manu, sojourned there, he  
 27 received news of the Olanders<sup>4</sup>. He thought that good, sent

<sup>1</sup> The language of the passage is in the form in which the MSS. have it and as I have adapted it in my edition, absolutely incorrect. It is however very doubtful whether we are justified in altering it, as the fault may lie with the author. The Cal. Ed. alters *mīyāyā* or *mībhāyā* into *vāje* or *vībhāyā*. I should nevertheless prefer to keep these words and to read *sāmpat* in v. 20a instead of *sāmpatti*, which may be influenced by *gāthāvāhi*.

<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt that the preceding verses refer to the victories of the Sinhalese arms mentioned in the note to v. 2. But the events are described in quite general terms.

<sup>3</sup> For the district Dīghavāpi see 71-89 and note.

<sup>4</sup> Vimalabhananāvīya I. had already been in touch with the Dutch (see note to 94. 22). Under Rājāśāha II. Dutch envoys already appeared in 1707, and the King on his part sent three of his own people to Admiral Westerweld, who lay with his vessels at Gau, to blockade it. Dutch vessels appeared at Batticaloa where a Portuguese garrison lay, and the united forces of the Sinhalese and the Dutch forced the Portuguese to surrender the fort (18th May, 1708). A treaty was made with

two dignitaries to their fair land, had a number of people fetched from there in many ships and when these arrived in 28 the rich, prosperous, thickly populated coast lands near Dighavāpi, he showed them favour. As he wished to display to them 29 the military forces of his Lankā, he sent them the command to look quietly on. Then he began the fight with the foe 30 stationed near, slew a great mass of the foe and captured the 31 stronghold. The Ruler of men made over the place to the 31 inhabitants of Olanda and showed them many other favours and made everyone contented.

From this time onward the Ruler of Lankā began at the 32 head of both armies<sup>1</sup>, to carry on war by land and water on 33 every side. He destroyed the fortresses situated at different 34 places and protected by massive stone walls, slew the enemy, 35 erected in the whole of Lankā strongholds garrisoned by strong 36 forces and after absolutely annihilating the foe who had ravaged so long (in Lankā) and freeing (the country) from their 37 oppression, he in order to ward off the enemy, charged the 38 inhabitants of Olanda with the protection of Lankā in the 39 places situated on the sea. After arranging that these were 40 to appear before him every year with presents of divers kinds, 41 the Ruler of men returned, like Vajirapāṇi<sup>2</sup> when he had 42 conquered in the battle against the Asuras, with his retinue 43 to his town (of Sirivudhīmā)<sup>3</sup>.

Westerwold which was situated in Batavia whither Rājasthāna sent two envoys. It enabled the Dutch to gain a firm footing on the island. These are the events to which vv. 25 ff. refer. The narrative describes in one-sided fashion — not surprising in chronicles — the achievements of the Sinhalese. That they alone conquered Batticaloa is not in accordance with the facts. The chief merit belongs to the Dutch gone. Poona 2, p. 227 ff.; Coluccaro, HO., p. 117 ff.

<sup>1</sup> That is the Sinhalese and the Dutch.

<sup>2</sup> Name of Indra: "who carries the thunderbolt (*vajra*) in his hand."

<sup>3</sup> Here again in the Māvya, only the one-sided Sinhalese standpoint is given. In diplomacy the Dutch were without doubt superior to King Rājasthāna, while on the other hand, he was a very unreliable ally for them. Rājasthāna's reign was not so void of friction after the treaty with the Dutch as one might assume from one chronicle. It was disturbed

38 Now while the Ruler of men, Rājasiha, dwelt here in safety, the wise (prince) sought out in fitting manner those people who were worthy of a position and granted them various positions 39 such as that of senāpati and the like. Villages, fields and so on, everything that had belonged to the Buddha and the gods, in accordance with tradition, the Ruler of men gave 40 back as it had been formerly. He brought kings' daughters hither from the town of Madhurā, and after holding sway 41 powerfully for fifty and two years<sup>1</sup>, the mighty Monarch Rājasiha, who had guarded as his own eye in the best way the Order of the royal Sage of the line of the Sun and the 42 laity, he the best of men went over to the King of death.

42 Thus this exceeding mighty King, the ruler, who understood how to annihilate hostile forces, was yet unable with his strength and his other qualities to gain the mastery over death. When the discerning have grasped from the first, at the very beginning this superiority of Mara, they must with great zeal continually do meritorious works, such as alms-giving and the rest.

Here ends the ninety-sixth chapter, called «History of King Rājasiha», in the *Mahārajasā*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

internally by risings, as in 1641 by that plotted by Vijayapūla. The struggles between the Portuguese and the Dutch went on, the luck being sometimes on the one side sometimes on the other. Finally the Dutch triumphed. With the capture of Colombo (A. D. 1656) the rule of the Portuguese dominion was ended. Immediately after that there was a breach between Rājasiha and the Dutch. The conflicts of the years which follow were multiplied for Rājasiha by inward strife. Lasting peace was not achieved, in spite of a peace favourable to the Sinhalese being signed in the year A. D. 1677, until the death of the King ten years later. *Prem S.*, p. 228-230; *Prem S.*, p. 1-35; *Colombo*, p. 116 ff., 138 ff.

<sup>1</sup> From A. D. 1635 (death of Somaratana) till A. D. 1687. Rājāv, makes the mistake of giving 1614 of the Saka era = 1692/3 A. D. as that of Rājasiha's death.

## CHAPTER XCII

HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS, OF VIMALADHAMMA  
AND HIS SUCCESSOR

Now his son Vimaladhammasuriya became king whose 1 ornament was his faith and other virtues, who was a friend of the three jewels. As his first māhēsi he took the daughter 2 of the māhēsi in the town of Madhurā who had been fetched thence, gladdened his subjects by the four heart-winning qualities and protected uninterruptedly in peace and justice 3 the realm of Latkā as a lord of men whose ornament was his virtue.

Having attained his consecration as king, the King in pious 4 faith in the doctrine of the Victor, prepared in divers ways everything needful for a sacrificial festival for the Tooth Relic. In honour of the Tooth of the Prince of the wise he erected a fair, three-storeyed pīṭāda, resplendent with all kinds of (artistic) work, and for the sum of five and twenty thousand 5 silver pieces he had a reliquary made which he covered with gold and ornamented with the nine precious stones. In this 6 great reliquary that resembled a cetiya of precious stones, he laid the Tooth of the Victor.

As the Ruler thought to hold the festival of admission to 8 the Order, he prepared fair garments and other articles of use, five hundred of each kind, made everything over with 9 gifts and the like, together with a royal letter to prudent officials. These he sent to the country of Rakkhaṇa and 10 invited<sup>1</sup> the bhikkhu community with the thera Santāna at

<sup>1</sup> The embassy to Rakkhaṇa (= Arakan, see note to 94.15) took place in the year A. D. 1697. The Dutch supplied the vessels for conveying the monks from Burma to Ceylon, which contributed not a little

11 the head. Thus he brought thirty-three bhikkhus to the  
 12 beautiful town of Sirivadjhama, made them amid tokens of  
 13 respect, take up their abode there and provided them with  
 14 the four necessaries. Then after he had erected in the right  
 15 way, as formerly, a building at the landing-place of the  
 16 Ganga, within a boundary drawn in the water, he brought  
 17 the bhikkhu community thither, had the ceremony of ad-  
 18 mission performed on thirty-three sons of good family and  
 19 so helped the Order of the Victor to attain new glory. Then  
 20 full of faith he had one hundred and twenty sons of good  
 21 family appointed to the position of *atmavargas*, provided them  
 22 abundantly with the four necessaries, had them instructed in  
 23 the true doctrine and thus laid up a store of merit.

24 Thinking of the great merit that lies in the use of the  
 25 feet<sup>1</sup>, he betook himself to the Sumanakuta and celebrating  
 26 with jewels, pearls and the rest, with offerings of gold and  
 27 precious stones and with divers stuffs and so forth, a great  
 28 festival, he tarried there seven days.

29 He sheltered with a great umbrella of silver the foot-print  
 30 of the Sage which was stamped on the Sumanakuta and ce-  
 31 lebrated a great festival.

32 Day after day he listened to (the sermon of the) doctrine  
 33 and since even on days which were not uposatha days, he  
 34 kept the ordained fasts, he did much good. In this and many  
 35 other ways, longing for good, he day and night unweariedly  
 36 did much good. The King having thus cared for the welfare  
 37 of the laity and the Order, fell under the power of death  
 38 after a reign of twenty and two years<sup>2</sup>.

to the friendly relations established between them and the court of  
 Kandy. The ceremony of the *upasampada* took place again (pure riyat)  
 at Gampola-nuttha (Gelambata). The description in v. 6 ff. has a great  
 resemblance also in the wording to that describing analogous circum-  
 stances under Vimaladhanammasuriya I. (94, 15 ff.). Compare for instance,  
 v. 19 cd. with 94, 17 cd., v. 15 ab with 94, 20 cd.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. the merit of the pilgrimages. See 92, 16 ff. where the pil-  
 grimages of Viravikrama to Mahiyangana and to Adam's Peak are  
 described.

<sup>2</sup> Vimaladhanammasuriya II. reigned from A. D. 1667-1707. He was

Generous in all that is good, as in the giving of alms and 22  
the like, with great wisdom, full of devotion he helped the  
excellent teaching of the excellent King of the wise, the one  
and only guide of the world, to attain glory. Help ye, there-  
fore also evermore and unweariedly the excellent doctrine to  
attain glory.

Thereupon his son Sirivīraparākramānindasīha be- 23  
came king. This King who was an abode of discernment and  
manly virtues, in order to protect the royal dignity in Lankā, 24  
fetched princesses from the town of Mādhurā and made them  
first maidens. He performed meritorious works such as the 25  
giving of alms and the like, celebrated daily a festival for the  
Tooth Relic and thus laid up a store of merit. He showed 26  
care for the bhikkhus who had been admitted to the Order  
during his father's life, had many sons of good family submitted  
in faith to the ceremony of world-renunciation and thus 27  
furthered the Order. In order to venerate the Māhiyūnigāya-  
cetiya that was erected already in the lifetime of the Buddha,  
the mighty King betook himself thither, sacrificed to the cetiya 28  
with all kinds of coloured staffs and while celebrating a sa-  
crificial festival with silver and golden flowers, abundantly 29  
with divers fragrant blossoms of the kind that grow on land  
and in water<sup>1</sup>, with food solid and soft, he laid up much merit.

At the head of a great army he went forth twice to the 30  
same Māhiyūnigāya and celebrated a great sacrificial festival.  
Twice the Lord of men went in faith to Sumānakūṭa, sacrificed 31

extraordinarily punice compared with his predecessor. Although at first  
he had again and again to remonstrate with the Dutch about the non-  
fulfilment of obligations in which they had pledged themselves in the  
treaty of 1677 (see *Commissaris*, HC., p. 185; *Praes* 3, p. 46 f.) and al-  
though the Dutch managed to get the King off, there was no war during  
this whole period.

<sup>1</sup> The compiler must have had something of the sort in his mind.  
But I am doubtful if we should simply change *śālakā* *lukū* into  
*śālakā* *ca*, as does the Col. Ed. It might be better to assume an obscure  
expression on the part of the author. His knowledge of Pāli was by  
no means excellent. It is also hard to imagine that the second reading,  
if it did stand there originally, could have been corrupted into the first.

32 there and so laid up a store of merit. At the head of a great retinue he left the great city, went forth to the great (city) 33 Anurādhapura and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. He had a robe made the size of the robe of the Deliverer<sup>1</sup> and sacrificed to the Tooth of the Deliverer in divers ways with 34 articles befitting the sacrifice. Not far from the capital<sup>2</sup>, on the fair bank cliff of the Gaṅgā, the Lord of men laid out 35 in a great cocopalm plantation a suburb by name Kūpījāsālā and dwelt there<sup>3</sup>. And there at that self-same spot he had dwelling huts put up in fitting manner and made sāmaperns take up their abode in them. He performed day by day many 36 good works like the giving of alms and the rest, had books copied and when he saw that the temple which his royal 37 father had erected in the capital for the Tooth Relic, had fallen into decay, his heart was grieved. The Lord of men 38 had the beautiful (temple) rebuilt, two-storeyed, splendid; he provided it with a portal resplendent with all kinds of brilliant ornaments, made it so that with its stucco coating it 39 resembled a mountain of silver, provided it with a graceful roof and had thirty-two jatakas depicted in coloured painting<sup>4</sup> on the two walls of the courtyard: the Viḍhurajātaka<sup>5</sup>, the 40 Guttī- and Ummaggajātaka; the Dādbivāhana-, Mūlākutī-, Sutānu- and Chaddantajātaka, the Dhammabuddhī-, Dhammā- 41 pāla- and Mūlājanakajātaka; the Pusamūhava-<sup>6</sup>, Dhammā- 42 souda-, Mūlāñāndakassapa-, Māhiñānduma-, Telapatta- and Cullapadumajātaka; the Sattabhatta-, Ayubhatta-, Campeyya-

<sup>1</sup> P. *avagata*, lit. "he who has gone well" who has gone ahead on the path to deliverance. H. O. Faulkner translated the word by "Pfadvollender" the "path finisher" or "path accomplisher".

<sup>2</sup> P. *śāmapura*, Śrivajjhāna (Kandy) is meant. The Gaṅgā is, as often, the Mihareligangū.

<sup>3</sup> Kundasale about four miles E. S. E. of Kandy, situated on the Mihareligangū. The popular name for the King was Kundasala after this place which was his favorite residence.

<sup>4</sup> I am anticipating the words *īsu dattiyajātakā vicitrāttamānaṁ kāśīpetrāna* in v. 44 d. 46 a.

<sup>5</sup> The Viḍhurapanditajātaka, no. 545 of the Fausböll edition.

<sup>6</sup> Pusamūhavañjanajātaka, no. 482 of Fausböll.

and *Sasajātaka*, the *Visayha-*, *Kusa-*, *Sutusoma-*<sup>1</sup>, *Sivi-* and 43  
*Temajātaka*<sup>2</sup>; the *Culladhanuddhura-*<sup>3</sup> and the *Saccapikkiraka-* 44  
*jātaka*, the *Dummedhajātaka* and the *Kūlīngabodhijātaka*;  
*the Silavajātaka*<sup>4</sup> and the *Mugdavyajātaka*<sup>5</sup>, as well as the  
*Vessantarajātaka*. While thus having these thirty-two *jātakas* 45  
faultlessly represented in coloured painting, the Lord of men  
laid up an immeasurable store of merit.

In the midst of the town he had erected round the great 46  
*Bodhi* tree, the *cetiya*s and the temple of *Nāthasura*<sup>6</sup> — en-  
closing them on all sides — a fine wall of stone, massive, 47  
lofty, brilliant in its coating of stucco, like to a necklace of  
pearls adorning the necks of the ladies of the town and created  
thereby for himself an abundance of renown.

Among the *sāmañeras* who lived at his own time (was one) 48  
who was dowered with the virtue of a moral life, who ever  
rejoiced in unweariedness, in the many works of elucidation 49  
and in the words of the Enlightened One, a poet, one learned  
in the scriptures, ready of speech, teacher of a host of disciples,  
renowned, who devoted his life to his own and to others' weal, 50  
who alone like the moon in the heaven of the Order in *Laṅkā*.  
For this *sāmañera*, *Saraputrikara* by name, who was an abode 51  
of faith and of knowledge, rejoicing in unweariedness, the  
Ruler — distinguishing him again and again by honours 52  
spiritual and secular — had a reliquary made one and a  
half cubits high for preserving the relic of the King of the 53  
wise, the Enlightened One, the highest Protector of the world.  
He covered it with gold, set it with 700 jewels and made  
over the shimmering casket to the *sāmañera* together with 54

<sup>1</sup> There are two *jātakas* of this name, the *Mahā-* and *Cullentasoma-*  
*jātaka*, no. 537 and 525 of *Fausböhl*.

<sup>2</sup> *Temiya-* or *Mugapakkhījātaka*, no. 538 of *Fausböhl*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cullallanuggahajātaka*, no. 974 of *Fausböhl*.

<sup>4</sup> *Silaranāgajātaka*, no. 72 of *Fausböhl*.

<sup>5</sup> Apparently the *Kaphudūpāyannajātaka* in which the ascetic *Mugdusya*  
plays the chief part, No. 444 of *Fausböhl*.

<sup>6</sup> Like *Nāthadera* (100, 245) the name of *Vigū* as the protecting  
deity (*mātar*) of the island.

the reli as well as many books about the true doctrine and  
 55 so distinguished him. The Lord of men granted him clothing  
 and other necessaries as well as numerous people for service  
 and honoured him thus with secular gifts.

56 To procure a long existence for the true doctrine, the Lord  
 of men invited (that same) Sarumapkara in befitting manner  
 57 and had composed by this discerning sāmavera who strove  
 after pure enlightenment, that work on the true doctrine  
 entitled the Sarathusappha, furnished with eleven thousand  
 58 sections<sup>1</sup>, further a commentary in the tongue of Lañkā on  
 the Mahādhivaya<sup>2</sup>, as well as a commentary on the work  
 Bhesajjamāsijūsa<sup>3</sup> which was composed at the time when the  
 former King Parakkamabāhu held sway in the town of  
 59 Jambuddo<sup>4</sup> by that discerning thera, assiduous in well-doing  
 who was head of the (bhikkhus) dwelling in the Pācīapri-  
 60 vega<sup>5</sup>, with the wish that thus those who have devoted them-  
 61 selves to the spiritual life should be spared illness. After the  
 wise (prince) had performed these and many other meritorious  
 works and had carried on the government for thirty and three  
 years, he fell into the power of death<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P. gaṇha. The meaning "section" is uncertain. In no case are we justified in referring to *Wissos*, as does W., according to whom the skr. *granthi* denotes a distinct number of syllables (32), because *Wissos* is speaking of a metre, which however W. himself admits.

<sup>2</sup> For this see *Georgs*, Pāli, p. 95, no. 29. 2; *MALALAKKERA*, Pāli Literatur of Ceylon, p. 160 ff. Whether by Sarumapkara's "commentary" (*āthasappha*) the Elu-Bodhivasa is meant seems doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> "Medicines-ghost". Probably a collection of recipes of the character of the Indian *Bhaṣajyacatnāvalli* (Bourc. *Medicin*, p. 2).

<sup>4</sup> Parakkamabāhu II. is meant.

<sup>5</sup> A monastery called Pācīaprivegapūtha is mentioned 57. 61. One could also translate: "of the bhikkhus living in the five parigas".

<sup>6</sup> The Chronicle concerns itself solely with the king's relation to the Church and is fulsome in its praise of his merits. It does not mention a single word about the conspiracy which nearly cost him his life. As little does it mention the very unsatisfactory conditions existing for the most part in the territories occupied by the Dutch nor the conflicts, arising out of questions of commercial policy, between the people of

After the King had attained the highest bliss on the is- 62  
land of Laṅkā, he left behind his kinsfolk, his friends and  
his life, and went to that state where all that is left behind.  
When ye have grasped that, ye remembering the truth of the  
oral admonitions of the highest Sage, should practise meri-  
torious doing that surpasses all else, that brings the bliss of  
deliverance, that grants the bliss of the world of the gods.

Here ends the ninety-seventh chapter, called «History of  
the Two Kings, of Viññaladhamma and his Successor», in the  
Mahāraupe, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the  
pious.

KNODY and the foreigners. Like his predecessor Narindasīha he kept the  
peace. At any rate the Dutch understood by occasional gifts to keep  
him in good humour. *Picus 3, p. 62—63.*



## CHAPTER XCIII

## HISTORY OF SIRIVIJAYARAJASIH

1 After Narindasih's death the younger brother<sup>1</sup> of the Mahesi of this king<sup>2</sup> became king, adorned with the ornament 2 of virtue. Known by the name of Sirivijayarājasiha, he was after the attainment of his consecration as king, piously 3 attached to the Triad of the jewels. He was diligent in hearkening to the sermon of the doctrine, unswearied, discerning, ever full of zeal, intent on intercourse with pious and 4 good people. To establish his own dynasty he fetched princesses from the town of Madhurā and made them his chief 5 maheśis. He won over the people in Lakṣā in the best manner possible by the four heart-winning qualities and took up his 6 abode in the fair town (Sirivijaya). The Mahesis of the King, too, gave up the false faith to which they had been long attached, and adopted in the best manner possible the 7 true faith which confers immortality. They heard the incomparable, true doctrine of the Buddha, the highest Protector of the world and thus adored with constant devotion the 8 Buddha and the other (sacred) objects. In their faith they

<sup>1</sup> In *Ānīphabhūta* 1 see the influence of the Sinhalese on the Pāli of the chronicler, 16 being added is Sinhalese at the end of attributive adjectives.

<sup>2</sup> According to 97, 24 (cf. 98, 4 3), Narindasih's Mahesi was a princess from Madhurā. With the ascent of the throne by her brother a foreign dynasty is thus introduced into Lakṣā. The series of Sinhalese kings ends with Narindasih. The succession of Vijayarājasiha meanwhile, was not undisputed. A strong party of court supported the claims of Urambava, a son of Narindasih's by a concubine. It seems however, that he voluntarily renounced the throne. Later on he lived safe and sound at the court of Kandy.

worshipped the Tooth Relic day by day with sacrifice, with jasmine and other blossoms and with all kinds of flower festivals, with sweet betel mixed with camphor and other 9 things, with lamps with fragrant oil, with sweet-smelling sandal wood and so forth, with divers kinds of fragrant in- 10 cense, with sugar and honey and with other drugs, with gar- 11 ments, ornaments and so on, with silver and golden bowls 12 which were abundantly filled with all that one can chew, eat, 13 sip, drink and taste, with curtains, carpets and the like, with 14 many articles of use and with costly robes — and thus and otherwise laid up a store of merit. They kept constantly 15 the five moral commandments<sup>1</sup> and the uposatha vows even on days that were not uposathas, diligent in hearing the (sermon of the) true doctrine. Even as the yaka cows (protect 16 their tails)<sup>2</sup>, so they preserved the memory of the Buddha and the other (sacred objects)<sup>3</sup>. They worked for their per- 17 fection, had sacred books copied. They strove after the bless- 18 ing that lies in generosity. They understood to perfection the regular offering of food and other (occasional) distribution of food to wandering or sick (bhikkhus). They were not 19 attached to acquired wealth but dispensed (it in) continual feeding and the like. They made young people renounce the world, showed them favour of many kinds. They had good in- struction given in the knowledge of the sacred scriptures and of pious duties and by dispensing always what was desired they were like to a wishing-tree. Kind beyond measure and very full of pity they thought of all people in Lankā as a mother of her children, and were merciful and mines of virtue. They had images and reliquaries fashioned in the best manner 19

<sup>1</sup> P. *pancasampay*. Cf. with this Mhv. test. I. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. with this passage Buddhavanssa 2. 124 f. *yathapi cormari videsa kisanici patirūpāgītām | ajechi vararamu latthe na vibupeti rājadhāni | ta-thena caturā bhikkhu sākāsi paripārāya | pūjirākhar sabbadā silapā cawat rājadhāni* — an allusion to the legend that the yaka would rather die than have any harm happen to their greatest ornament, their tail.

<sup>3</sup> There are six different *anussatī* — *Buddha-, dhāraṇī-, saṃyutta-, sīlu-, rāga- and devata-anussatī*.

possible and always fearing every sin and ever rejoicing over  
 20 every meritorious deed, adorned with the ornament of such  
 and many other virtues, they were highly regarded in the  
 21 whole island of Lankâ. The King had dwelling-places erected  
 here and there and made the sâmareras take up their abode  
 22 in them and pious as he was, he showed them full of zeal,  
 much favour with garments and other necessaries, heard the  
 23 splendid true doctrine from these sâmareras and revered  
 (especially) the sâmarera Sarnpâpâkara by name who strong  
 in faith dwelt in the Uposathârâma, who was a mine of virtues.  
 24 He invited him and had a commentary on the four bhâgavatas<sup>1</sup>  
 made by him in the language of Lankâ and thus protected  
 the knowledge of the sacred scriptures.

25 Since the Lord of men had heard from foolish people out-  
 side (of the Buddhist Order) that great evil would befall if  
 26 he were to place the relic in a new relic temple, he gave  
 orders that this should be done by other people<sup>2</sup> and betook  
 himself thence to another town. While he sojourned there  
 27 the dignitaries assembled and together with the caretakers<sup>3</sup>  
 and other people, they tried with all their might to open the  
 28 reliquary. But although they tried the whole night long they  
 did not succeed. The dignitaries went thither and told the  
 29 matter to the Great king. When the King heard that, he  
 came in haste to the splendid town and after the Ruler had  
 reverently made offerings with all kinds of fragrant flowers,  
 30 with lamps, incense and the like and shown his reverence,

<sup>1</sup> For purposes of recitation the whole of the Tipitaka is divided into *khâdyakâras*, sections of equal length. There are said to be 2547 of these (Cittangata, 3, v.). It seems to me, however, as if the word in our passage is used instead of *khâdyâ*. The commentary would then have embraced Uigha-, Majjhima-, Sañyutta- and Antaguttara-Nikâya.

<sup>2</sup> The passage is wrongly rendered by W. *âkâra* passage is not governed by *âkâra* in 26 b, it belongs to *gacchâ*, but *âkâra* must be supplemented by the object ("It") from the preceding.

<sup>3</sup> *Vattakâraka* (meaning literally "fulfilling the duty or the task") refers I believe, to the guardians who were appointed just at that time, to look after the shrines and see that they were kept in proper condition. See *Praesocr.* 8, p. 76.

he took hold of the lock and at once opened the reliquary without difficulty. Then after opening one after the other the 31 caskets inside it, he beheld the Tooth of the Enlightened One. "It is accomplished, with success" uttering these joyful words, 32 he assembled the inhabitants of the town, prepared a great feast and celebrated a great sacrificial festival. As he gazed 33 on the wonderful (relic) the Monarch was transported with joy and enthusiasm. As offerings he presented an elephant and a horse, jewels, pearls and the like, took the sacred Tooth 34 of the Prince of the wise in the lotus of his hand, showed it forth and so caused all to rejoice in perfect fashion. The 35 relic temple built in the time of former kings he furnished with all kinds of stuffs interwoven with gold, lit lamps with 36 divers-smelling oils, had filled jars placed about, and then in this gaily decorated temple, like to a heavenly temple, he 37 placed on a silver throne the Tooth of the Prince of the wise. He arranged a great festival, made a sacrifice to the relic and 38 after cleansing the whole town in a worthy manner and strewing it with sand he placed during this festival of the 39 Tooth Relic, round about the temple, within in the court and without on the terrace, further in the royal court and in all 40 the streets on either side with lofty poles placed upright, an unbroken series of festive arches, bound thereon banana stalks 41 and adorned them fair with areca and coconut blossoms and other flowers. With the brightly hued, gleaming and shimmering 42 streamers tied bunch-wise to the points of the poles, the sky above the town looked pleasant as if it were filled with flights of 43 cranes. Here and there he placed in due order filled jugs and 44 in the *mathas* in a circle in front of the temple terrace he fastened canopies shimmering with silver and golden and other embroideries, hung thereabout brightly gleaming curtains, 45 spread there in fair fashion carpets resplendent with many a 46 work of art and also strewed around the five kinds of flowers, 47 lotus and the like<sup>1</sup>. Then after the Ruler had put the whole

<sup>1</sup> P. *Majapākṣavālī*, lit. "that in which Majā is the fifth". See for this PTS. P. D. c. v. *Majā*. This is the name for the blossom of the

city in order so that it looked as if the former kings of Lañkā were celebrating a festival with the thought that in like fashion the King of the gods makes a feast in the city of the gods<sup>1</sup>, he himself with royal ornaments adorned, gathered together in that town the sūmāyeras who dwelt in Lañkā, further the lay brethren and lay sisters, all the inhabitants of the town and the people who dwelt outside in the provinces. Out of mercy towards them<sup>2</sup> the Ruler of the earth for whom pity was the highest, flung himself on the ground in most humble posture<sup>3</sup> and so worshipped the Tooth of the Prince of the wise. Then the King took it in the lotus of his hand and his heart filled with the highest joy, he left the relic temple. With silver umbrellas, with a golden casket, with row upon row of fair fly whisks, with manifold offerings of flowers, consisting of silver, golden and other blooms, with divers jewels and pearls, with robes, ornaments and many other sacrificial articles, with the fivefold music<sup>4</sup> he celebrated a great sacrificial festival, like to a stream flowing on uninterrupted. Then the King, the Ruler of Lañkā betook himself

*duliegga arboea.* W's version is quite different from the passage. He takes *Idja* in the sense of "roasted rice" and remarks "Tubby when roasted burns and the grain inside the husk expands in the shape of a beautiful white flower. These are used on public occasions and festivals as a mark of respect, for showing the ground whereon a shrine is taken or on which a high person walks over."

<sup>1</sup> The style is extremely stilted. Literally the passage should be translated thus: "showing the town in such a way that one would be obliged to say: in such wise did the former princes of Lañkā celebrate a festival, whereby they thought: this doth the King of the gods etc. etc." The idea is that the King has adorned the city as magnificently as the kings of yore were wont to do on like occasions, and the splendour they displayed was due to the fact that they imitated divine models.

<sup>2</sup> He will not rob the people of the purifying spectacle of the sacred relic.

<sup>3</sup> P. *pañcayatikkilesa*, lit. with a body in which five (parts of the body) lie fast. Cumanas thus explains the term: "to prostrate oneself before a superior so completely that the forehead, elbows, waist, knees and feet rest on the ground."

<sup>1</sup> See note to 26, 30.

to the mudhapa outside (in front of the temple) which was adorned with divers bright ornament and standing here, displayed the sacred Tooth. Having thus given the greatest joy 56 to the mighty multitude gathered round, he brought the Tooth Relic back to its place. Thus by bringing full contentment 57 to all as if by the sight of the Buddha in person, he laid up a store of much good.

Now after the Lord of men had offered abundantly with 58 all kinds of ornament, such as gold, jewels, pearls and the like, with sacrificial offerings like elephants, horses, slaves 59 male and female, with flowers like Jasmīne, campaka<sup>1</sup> and other blossoms, with fragrant sandal wood and the like, he 60 be思ought himself of the great blessing inherent in a sacrifice of lamps. Hence the Lord of men issued the command that in their own town and in the cetiyas in the divers provinces on one and the same day<sup>2</sup>, people should make an offering 61 of lamps, and in that selfsame night he gathered together the people and celebrated a sacrifice of lamps with seven hundred 62 and ninety thousand, six hundred lamps. Thus with burning 63 lamps the Ruler of Lanka made the land of Lanka like to the star-strewn ornament. With an offering of three hundred<sup>3</sup> 64 thirty and three thousand, eight hundred flowers he laid up a store of merit.

This King rich in virtue who found joy in causing images 65 of the Buddha to be made, had erected in Alakalena<sup>4</sup> and other vihāras in the province of Mūtala, as well as here and there in the rock temples of the various (other) provinces, Buddha 66 statues in life-size, in recumbent, standing and sitting posture and new cetiyas which bring happiness to living creatures, and he had many decayed image houses restored and increased 67 thereby showing favour to the people, the quantity of his merit.

<sup>1</sup> Michelia champaka; Sinh. sapu-mal.

<sup>2</sup> The words *ekā vā* must be taken in the oratio recta.

<sup>3</sup> For *tu* which here probably means 100,000, see PTS. P. D. a. v. In has the general meaning of an extremely high number.

<sup>4</sup> Now the Alu-vihāra not far from Matale situated in the cleft of a mighty primordial landslide.

68 In the town of Sirivadjhana the Lord of men did away with the royal palace and many other buildings that had been founded formerly but had meanwhile fallen into decay. In place of these the Lord of men built new houses which exceeded by reason of their mason work and the like, made fine gates<sup>1</sup> and erected a magnificent gate-building furnished with iron gateways, adorned with ornaments<sup>2</sup> of divers form and consisting of two storeys.

71 While he resided in this town, he full of zeal when listening to the sermon of the doctrine, had mandapas erected within the royal courtyard. He furnished them completely with coloured arches and the like, put up canopies, spread seats, brought then with great ceremony<sup>3</sup> many preachers of the true doctrine thither, made them be seated and lay hold 74 of their white fans. Then he hearkened to the good, heart-penetrating doctrine as it was preached by them along with enlightening explanation and the like, and filled with pious joy the Ruler honoured it with gold and silver, with lamps, incense and the like, with divers coloured stuffs, (in short) 76 with sacrificial articles of every kind, the Monarch himself in common with the dignitaries and the troops and so on many occasions laid up a store of abundant good.

77 Now when the King heard through the true doctrine that spiritual offerings<sup>4</sup> are a great thing, he intent on the welfare of the people dwelling in the various provinces, had dwellings and sermon halls erected here and there in places fitted for the assembling of a great multitude of people. Then the Lord of men sent to the various places numerous preachers of the doctrine and others, had the people gathered together and the true doctrine preached to them and in this way he offered a spiritual offering.

<sup>1</sup> One is tempted here to join *caravallī* *gojīrī* with the following *ayodharasumayatī*, but for its giving a scarcely tolerable tautology.

<sup>2</sup> P. *Arthakarman*, lit. "creeper work".

<sup>3</sup> P. *varhassatī*, not as W. translates "with much trouble". That would be *malaśāśvī*.

<sup>4</sup> P. *āśramāśī*, every kind of religious instruction. The opposite is *āśramī* "secular offering" (food, clothing etc.).

The infamous Parāngis, the infidels, the impious ones who 80 at the time of King Mañjasiha had still remained behind in the town and now dwelling here and there, rich in coming, 81 endeavoured by gifts of money and the like to get their creed adopted by others, led a life without reverence for the doctrine 82 (of the Buddha). When the King heard thereof he became vehemently indignant, issued commands to his dignitaries, had 83 their houses and their books destroyed and banished from the country those who did not give up their faith<sup>1</sup>.

On the Sumanakūṭa made sacred by the footprint of the 84 Enlightened One the Ruler celebrated a sacrifice of lamps and all other festivals. In Anurādhapura, in Mahiyangāya and in 85 other places he likewise celebrated a great sacrificial festival. To east and west (of the town) where water made the road 86 impassable, he had stone bridges put up for the comfort of those coming and going.

When the Monarch realised that the Order of the Victor 87 was declining because a bhikkhu community was not to be had in Lankā he was greatly moved. As he was minded to 88 invite a bhikkhu community, he considered in every possible way where the Order of the Sage could possibly still exist. Then he heard from the Olandas<sup>2</sup> the welcome news that the 89 Order still existed in various countries, in Pegu, Rakkhaṇga,

<sup>1</sup> The King's measures are thus directed against the Roman Catholic Church and against the Portuguese still settled in the country. For the Catholic mission in Ceylon at the time of the Dutch settlement and its ultimate suppression see *Picasa* II, p. 70 f.

<sup>2</sup> The only passage where Vijayavajjika's relations with the Dutch are noted. If in spite of the friction caused by trade, these relations led to no open rupture, this was largely due to the easy going and at times really feeble policy of the Dutch. Their forbearance was met by increased claims on the part of the court of Kandy. An embassy to Pegu was first sent off in the year 1740. The Dutch Company placed a vessel at its disposal which was however wrecked off the coast of Pegu. A second embassy seems to have gone to Siam in 1741. Envys of the Sinhalese king came also in 1746 to Siam and succeeded in persuading a number of bhikkhus to undertake the journey to Ceylon. Vijayavajjika however, died 1747 before their arrival. See *Cummarah*, II, p. 139 f. and especially p. 164; *Picasa* 3, p. 71 ff.

90 Sāminda<sup>1</sup>. Now in order to test the condition of the Order of the Sage in these various countries, the King had letters 91 carefully written in the sacred language<sup>2</sup>, gave them over to ministers and other dignitaries and sent these forth singly.

When the Lord of men heard the news that in the kingdom 92 of Ayojjha<sup>3</sup> the Order existed in all its purity and in the best condition, in order to bring from that same country sons of 93 the Victor to Laikā, he sent dignitaries thither to whom he gave a writing together with many gifts and sacrificial implements.

94 For the placing therein of the Tooth of the Prince of the wise the Monarch had a fair, golden reliquary made one and a half cubits high and encrusted with costly jewels and pearls. 95 But before it was finished his merit was exhausted\* after he had reigned eight years.

96 This prince who was adorned with the ornament of faith and of many other virtues, who was at pains to purify to the utmost the splendid Order of the Buddha, that best of men after he had done much good, went finally thither to Nāmuci<sup>5</sup>.

97 In this wise did the King of Laikā whose joy was in the welfare of others, who worked for his own and others' salvation, carry on the government, as best among the best, the Ruler of men who loved virtue. Ye who wish for your prosperity in this world and for abundant happiness in the world beyond must therefore wholly give up indolence and do a multitude of meritorious works which will bring you many a happiness.

Here ends the ninety-eighth chapter, called «History of Sirivijayarājasihu», in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> Name of Siam.

<sup>2</sup> Pāli *saṅkhakasī* "fundamental or main language", i. e. Pāli.

<sup>3</sup> Ayodhyā, now Ayutthya, name of the old capital of Siam, north of Bangkok, situated on the banks of the Menam. Cf. J. Davidsen, Indische Fehlten (1927) I, 111 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The *puññā* in virtue of which he had attained the royal dignity. For "reigned" the original has *tha* "lived (as king)".

<sup>5</sup> Skr. *nāmuci* is the name of one of the demons slain by Indra. In Pāli *Nāmuci* is a designation of Māra (S. I, 67<sup>19</sup>; A. II, 15<sup>20</sup>) specially of Kilesmāra (Bāb. V, 495<sup>21</sup>), in our passage of the god of death.

## CHAPTER XCIX

ACCOUNT OF THE KING'S CONSECRATION  
AND OF OTHER FESTIVALS

After the passing of this Monarch dowered with splendid virtues, his brother-in-law<sup>1</sup> became king of kings. Gifted with physical beauty (he was) a delight to the eyes of the people, filling the whole superb island of Lañkā with splendour, a prince of glorious grace.

When in the island of Lañkā the year two thousand, two hundred and ninety since the nirvana of the Enlightened One had come<sup>2</sup> this Ruler of men whose joy was the welfare of Lañkā, comforted his subjects who were afflicted by their parting from the Great king. This whole people racked by suffering, like to the darkness (which sets in) when the sun after it has illumined the whole world, goes down — the famous King made free from grief, like to the (newly) rising sun which illuminates the whole world (afresh) and having taken over the royal dignity of Lañkā, he made everyone joyful to the utmost. After attaining his consecration as king, the Lord of men who was devoted in faith to the Triad of the jewels, Buddha and the others, strove unweariedly after merit. The highly famed one had the whole town (of Sirivadhanā) cleansed and decorated with stumps, triumphal arches and the like. Then he gathered together the whole of the inhabitants of Lañkā completely in the fair, glorious town and moving along with royal magnificence, the Great king whose merit

<sup>1</sup> The brother of Vijayarūjasañha's Malesī who according to 99.4, came from Mūlburā. He had come to the court of Kandy with his sister and with his father Narasimha Nayaka.

<sup>2</sup> — A. D. 1746. The right year for Vijayarūjasañha's death is 1747.

was now having its effect<sup>1</sup>, marched round the town, his right side turned towards it, thus making known that the realm of 10 Lanka bereft of its king had again a king. The Lord of men dowered with abundant merit, resided in Sriyuddham. 11 The virtuous one had (already aforesome) made the firm resolve<sup>2</sup> to shelter the Order of the Sage and now under the name of Kittisirajāsīha he ruled gloriously this our Lanka. Enjoying the good fortune of the royal dignity of Lanka, full of discernment, recognizing that his wealth consisted in faith, he mindful of what things are of worth and of what things are worthless, prepared in piety a festival 12 for the three sacred objects, Buddha and so forth<sup>3</sup>. He gave up evil friends and enjoyed intercourse with the learned people; he passed his time with the good and hearkened to 13 the incomparable doctrine. Pious and wise as he was, the Lord of men distinguished between what should be done and what should not be done. What should not be done he avoided, 14 but to that which should be done he held fast. By the four heart-winning qualities he made all people well disposed to 15 him and he was worthy of the praise of the learned. Hearing that reward lies in a spiritual offering<sup>4</sup> and success in the hearkening to the true doctrine and merit in the copying of works of the true doctrine, as also in sacrificial festivals for 16 the doctrine he thought; that which is in accordance with the true doctrine<sup>5</sup> must be done. He had maṇḍapas erected in

<sup>1</sup> For *phūṇayat* — here used as an adjective — see note to 37. 139.

<sup>2</sup> P. *paridhūya kātriyata*. I regard *kātriyata* again as a compound verb formed under the influence of the Sinhalese, of the type *gacchāvā*; *gacchā*. The King had already made the resolve in a former existence. The effect in the present of his meritorious karma is that he becomes King of Lanka (P. *paratāna lankāya īwati*), and he can now carry out his resolve.

<sup>3</sup> V. 6c in the close of v. 11 is a single sentence. The construction is however, quite inorganic and it is impossible to translate the sentence as a whole. It is the same with the following.

<sup>4</sup> See note to 98. 77.

<sup>5</sup> P. *ādharmaṇwata* must be understood adverbially. Cf. sūc. *dharmata* "according to law or rule, lawfully."

many places for sermons, made canopies therein of stuff of 17 varied colours, furnished them in every possible way with arches and other ornaments, lit lamps and spread seats, brought 18 thither with worthy service and honour preachers of the true 19 doctrine, invited them full of reverence, made them sit down 20 on the well prepared seats, made these preachers recite parts 21 of the true doctrine and listened with devotion the whole 22 night long to many suttantas, such as the Dhammaseakkhu Suttanta<sup>1</sup> and others. Since he recognized the worthlessness 23 of body, life and wealth as worthlessness and the worth of 24 listening to the true doctrine as worth, he was pious and 25 joyful and celebrated in common with the dignitaries and the 26 troops, a great festival with articles of sacrifice of every kind. For the welfare and blessing of the multitudes dwelling within 27 and without the town the Lord of men repeatedly had spiritual 28 offerings offered and thus performed a meritorious work con- 29 sisting in spiritual offerings.

Full of reverence towards the bhikkhu community<sup>2</sup> who 25 had come from Rakkhanga, towards the bhikkhus of Lanika and towards the many sāmavessas, who had renounced the 26 world, the Lord of men showed them favour with offerings of robes and other necessities and had the Paritta and other 27 salutary texts recited by them. Thus on many occasions he 28 furthered the true doctrine, made offerings of necessities and so increased the store of his merit.

At a cost of nine thousand, six hundred (kāhāpūpas) he 29 in his piety had a magnificent golden book made. On its 29 golden leaves he had many Suttantas inscribed such as the

<sup>1</sup> What is meant in the story of the Buddha's first sermon in Barāgañi to the *pañcavaggiya* bhikkhus, the companions of his earlier period of asceticism. The account is given in the Vinaya, Mūlavagga I. 6. 10 E. (= I. B. E.). Cf. S. V. 420 E.

<sup>2</sup> Bhikkhus from Rakkhanga had come to Ceylon under Vimaladhammasuriya I. (91-19) and under the second king of this name (#97. 10). Kittisiri had some brought from Siam. This is narrated as a kind of appendix in 100. 54 E. In all probability the Siamese monks are to be considered as included in this passage.

30 Dhammacakka Sutta and others and had these recited by preachers of the true doctrine the whole night long. Honouring them with many articles, he listened repeatedly to the  
 31 incomparable doctrine. The Lord of men called scribes together, made them copy out in one day the Digha-Nikāya<sup>1</sup>, showed  
 32 them much favour and then had the sacred text preached the whole night long in the right manner. He celebrated a great  
 33 sacrificial festival, listened to (texts) and recited himself. In his piety he had the Surpūtta-Nikāya and many other books  
 34 copied and gave the scribes money. People who had renounced the world and inhabitants of houses<sup>2</sup> had other sacred books  
 35 carefully copied and when these were shown to him he was highly pleased, showed them with money and other gifts much favour and thus in his pious zeal took a share in the merit of other dwellers in Lankā.

36 Yearning for merit the Lord of men betook himself with his retinue to superb Anurādhapura.<sup>3</sup> Here the King sacrificed  
 37 to the Bodhi tree and the sacred cetiya with elephants, and horses, with gold, silver and the like, and thus in divers ways  
 38 laid up a store of pious works. Then too in royal splendour the highly-famed Lord of men visited the Mahiyatīgaya-cetiya and the superb Nakha-cetiya and reverenced them by the celebration of a great festival and so laid up a store of merit.  
 39 In order to honour with sacrifices the beautiful cetiyas and vihāras erected by the Lord of men Piṇakumā in superb Pu-  
 40 latthungara, the highly famed King rich in faith, betook himself thither with a great retinue and sacrificed to them in  
 41 the right way. Endowed with faith and other virtues the King also honoured the Rajuta-vihāra<sup>4</sup> and brought together a store of merit.

42 After a sacrificial festival for the lotus-luted patron god and other deities such as was popularly recognized as bring-

<sup>1</sup> P. *dīghanikāya*; *āgama* is synonym for *nikāya*. The same in 33 *surpūtta-nikāya*.

<sup>2</sup> P. *puthajāla* and *gahatthā*, i. e. priests and laymen. The sentence in 34-35 is linguistically quite incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> Now Ridi-vihāra, north of Kurunegala.

ing luck even in the days of former sovereigns of Lankā<sup>1</sup>, he had for the purpose of a military display<sup>2</sup>, the whole town 43 without exception put in order like the city of the gods. He gathered together all the inhabitants of Lankā and in the town 44 he had the people from the individual provinces separated and made them dwell in different places, provided with standards. 45 Then he had the symbols<sup>3</sup> in the temples of the gods placed on the back of an elephant. He had the elephant surrounded<sup>4</sup> 46 by divers beaters of the drum and the tambourine and by crowds of dancers<sup>5</sup>, by various groups of elephants and divers groups of horses, by people wearing the Brahman dress of 47 various stuffs and with (divers) ornaments, by people carrying divers umbrellas and divers fly-whisks; by various groups of 48 women and various groups of dignitaries, by people carrying divers shields and divers swords, by such as carried divers 49 spears and various symbols<sup>6</sup>, by such as carried various stuffs

<sup>1</sup> Something of this sort must have been in the mind of the chronicler when he wrote this passage with its absolutely confused style. *Māgala-*  
*sāmānīya* must be taken as attribute to *pājā* contained in the compound which follows (42 c d). The Col. Ed. tries at least to smoothe away the difficulties by reading instead of the "Māgala" of the MSS. "Māgā" etc. I fear this amounts to a correction of the author.

<sup>2</sup> P. *vennigādasa-mūrthaya*. W. does not give the full sense of this expression. That a military tournament is meant is clear from verses 44-45 a b. The assembled people are divided according to the individual local contingents of which the army is made up. Each contingent has its special flag. The army thus forms the main element in the festive procession.

<sup>3</sup> P. *desatthāna-triṇībhā*. Skr. *dyūtī* means besides "weapon", "implement" in general. W. translates quite correctly "the emblems of the gods that were in the temples".

<sup>4</sup> Anticipates *antīyā parivāryā* in v. 51.

<sup>5</sup> The compound is not in the least clear. *Maddalāshā* at the end seems to be an adjective form; *sāmīpīya* might be used substantively as is often the case with the past part. = "accompany". The wearisome repetition of *mātā* in the sequel is probably meant to express the endlessness of the procession. The same occurs in 85. 112 ff. and 88. 117 ff. The words *sāyū* and *rūpīya* are repeated in the same way in 85. 26 ff. and 89. 19 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Here again *drāshā* is used. I should prefer here to take the word

50 and various banners; by people who had come from various regions and who understood the different tongues; by such as were practised in the various arts and by divers artisans —  
51 with such and many other people he had the elephant surrounded, ordering them to go immediately in front or behind.  
52 Thereupon the King set forth, like to the Prince of the gods, with great (and) royal splendour and marched round the whole town, his right side turned towards it. Finally<sup>1</sup> they all arrived again and entered (the town) according to their rank<sup>2</sup>.  
53 When our King of kings<sup>3</sup>, dowered with faith, wisdom and other virtues, was wont every year to hold the *Āsāhi*<sup>4</sup>  
54 festival, he was minded beforehand to celebrate a sacrificial festival for the Buddha. He had a canopy fastened on the  
55 back of the royal elephant beautifully ornamented with gold embroidery. Then he had the elephant whose task was as  
56 the bright moon<sup>5</sup>, decorated with ornaments and then surrounded by (other) elephants whose riders held in their hand silver umbrellas and fly-whisks<sup>6</sup> and flowers of every kind, by

in the same sense as in v. 45, as "weapons" are already mentioned in the foregoing.

<sup>1</sup> P. *without* used as adverb, as also in v. 52.

<sup>2</sup> This verse is a good example of the utter neglect of style where the subject *o rájá* (सूर्यमहादेव, लक्ष्मी) in the same verse is followed by the plural predicate *परमाणु*.

\* P. *arkhōkum rājñājānam*. The expression "our King" is particularly noteworthy. In the whole of the *Mahāvīra* it occurs only here under *Kittisirikājñatika* (cf. also v. 183 and 163, as well as 100, 229), and seems to prove that our section was composed under this king and during his lifetime, cf. v. 76 ff. and note to 100, 300. The construction of the sentence is again quite confused. The subject stands in the acc.; *-gavādāya* which I regard as a transposition of *-vidyāya*, is changed by the Col. Ed. into *-gavādāya*. But does this help us much? The sentence remains in disorder.

<sup>4</sup> The *asalha* month corresponds to June-July. The festival held in this month brings in the rainy season. H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *P. subha-randi-redri*. I separate the compound thus, *subha* seeming to me to stand for skr. *endha* or *endri*. The explanation is however, uncertain.

<sup>10</sup> The use of *anjana* in the narrative is governed by *graha* in the following manner:

people having in their hand articles of sacrifice and wearing garlands of flowers, by people with various banners and pennons 57 and by such as wore divers garments, by various royal dignitaries and by people come hither from various regions. Finally 58 the Lord of men placed the splendid sparkling casket of gold in which the bodily *relic*<sup>1</sup> of the Buddha was contained 59 carefully under the canopy and by the strewing of flowers let a rain of flowers rain (upon it). With the shouts of the 60 cries of "Hail!", with the sound of the shell trumpets and the cymbals and with the rattle of the various drums celebrating high festival<sup>2</sup>, good and pious people their hearts filled 61 with astonishment and admiration, with hands folded before the bough, paid lasting reverence (to the relic). But the Lord 62 of men had the Tooth Relic reverenced with all kinds of particularly costly sacrificial gifts by people who bore lamps on poles and who were festively attired. Then placing at the 63 head the relic which holds the first place among all things worthy of reverence by gods, demons and men, he ordered 64 all the rest, such as gods<sup>3</sup> and men to follow behind. He himself in royal splendour to the strains of hymns of praise which promised happiness, set forth in all the majesty of a Great king, with great magnificence showing men how even 65 thus the King of the gods in the city of the gods is wont to celebrate high festival for the reliques.

Powered with faith and many other virtues, devoted to 66 the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order, collected, mindful of what is worth and of what is worthless, ever performing meritorious works, such as almsgiving and the like; distinguish- 67 ed by splendid virtues, piety, wisdom, mercy, shining over the

ing compound. Thus we have again to do with a compound resolved into its component parts (= *rajatasekhacittacittavacanapupphayabhadrasikkhavatthabhi*).

<sup>1</sup> Not "relics" (W.); it is only a case of the Tooth Relic.

<sup>2</sup> I am inclined to think that *kravita* which might be the direct equivalent of the skr. *kravita*, belongs to the following *jantri pācīti*.

<sup>3</sup> By *devi* are meant the figures of deities or divine symbols which are carried in processions.

island, with faith in the Enlightened One, living according to the good doctrine of the Sage, dowered with the ten powers<sup>2</sup>, ever giving alms and performing other meritorious works unweariedly and full of zeal, mindful of what is worth and of what is worthless, he ever acted in this way for the welfare of all men.

68 With great ceremony he instituted day by day a great festival for the Tooth Relic, reverential towards the triad of the jewels. His own community which had been received into the Order in his own time, he provided in pious reverence 70 from his own property with the four articles of use. Devoted in piety to the true doctrine he listened again and again to (the preaching of the) doctrine and accumulated in pious reverence 71 numerous meritorious works. He furthered as during the lifetime of the Buddha the Order of the Victor and increased the happiness of the people dwelling in Lankā. When 72 he heard of the doings of former kings, of Parakkamabahu and others, he recognized it as right and imitated their doings. 73 He learned the duties of a king, was filled with reverence for kingly duties, shunned the (four) false paths, schooled himself in the four heart-winning qualities, showed his brothers and 74 others all favour by befitting action, made them contented and won their hearts by caring for them in the right way. 75 In this manner the Sovereign of Lankā, the Lord of men, whose joy was in the welfare of others sheltered in the best way, ever unweariedly the Order of the Muster as likewise the laity, and when he learned the history of the many rulers of men who had formerly been kings in Lankā, he mused on their deeds and made the resolve: "I also will fulfil the duties 76 of a king." In making this resolve he thought of the work, entitled *Mahāvamsa*<sup>3</sup>, in which the ancient history of the kings of the great dynasty as of those of the lesser dynasty 77 is narrated in the form of verses, from Mabasapūra to (the

<sup>2</sup> See PTS, P. D. n. v. *dehn*.

<sup>3</sup> For this passage see my edition of the *Chilavatapu*, I, Introduction p. IV-V.

kings of) Huttiselapura<sup>1</sup>. And the King of Laṅkā caused an examination to be made in due order of this book existing on the island of Laṅkā and<sup>2</sup> of the same chronicle of the kings of Laṅkā brought from the Śāminda country — of these two books separately — and when he heard that the Mahāvansya was deficient, he also caused the unknown history of the kings of the latter time — beginning with Parakkamabāhu up to the kings of the present time — to be written down and to be continued (thus) the royal chronicle.

Thus while he neither transgressed the commandments (laid 81 down) for a king nor the precepts of religion, the Lord of men carried on the royal government in justice and peace. In 82 accordance with the duties of a king he daily did good, such as almsgiving and the like, mindful of the sublime religion, practising the four heart-winning things, practising generosity 83 and friendly speech and care for the welfare of others, and constant in condescension. To show the world that he respected 84 his royal brothers<sup>3</sup> as himself he assigned the two uparājas vehicles and retinue and every kind of distinction, made them 85 thus completely contented and thus showed forth in the best way the fourfold heart-winning qualities. These two who 86 in this wise attained distinction, celebrated each for himself a great festival for the Tooth Relic. They had books copied

<sup>1</sup> I. e. Kurunegala. According to this passage the chronicle came down to the time of Parakkamabāhu IV., who resided in Kurunegala. The MSS. confirms this where after 90. 100 a new section begins. The mode of expression in this passage (v. 80) is only in so far inexact as the reign of Parakkamabāhu IV. does not begin the new part but stands at the close of the old. That the Sinhalese Mahāvansya goes further than the original Mahāvansya of Mahānāyan is not expressly stated. The Mahānāyan of the Malvathu-vihāra in Kandy, Tibhutuvāra, was entrusted by the King with the task of comparing the two chronicles and of completing the Sinhalese Mahāvansya (cf. P. E. Pidur, 3, p. 142). In all probability, therefore, he was the author of chapters 90. 101 to 100 of the Mahāvansya.

<sup>2</sup> The King had two brothers of whom the one was brought with him and his sister to Ceylon by their father Narendrapa Nayakar (Pidur, 3, p. 78) while the youngest was born there.

87 and gave the scribes money. They invited the bhikkhu community and each for himself continually gave them alms, such  
 88 as constant maintenance and the like. By listening to the  
 pious doctrine they learned to distinguish between what should  
 be done and what should be left undone, abhorred sinful  
 89 actions and were full of zeal for meritorious deeds. By testing  
 they discovered the ablest, most skilful and most pious sāmāyeras;  
 and to these sāmāyeras they presented as gift the eightfold  
 90 necessities<sup>1</sup>, so that they were worthy of a King, had the  
 ceremony of admission to the Order performed for them and  
 took care that they were rightly instructed in the precepts of  
 monastic discipline and in the suttanta. Then they had  
 dwellings erected which was a great blessing<sup>2</sup> (for themselves).  
 91 made the monks dwell therein caring for them meanwhile in  
 worthy fashion full of reverence. They considered in every  
 92 way what should be done for the laity and the Order, developed  
 in accordance with the intentions of the King, kindness to-  
 wards the good and sternness towards the bad, according to  
 93 their deserts, strove in this wise and with other means after  
 good and acted according to the intentions of the King as  
 good friends of the laity and of the Order.

94 Many former kings for the sake of gaining the royal  
 dignity or for other reasons did not look on each other as  
 95 brothers or otherwise (as friends), but fought one another and  
 as a result of their discord their subjects were even so minded.  
 But these three (brothers) who had yet attained such royal  
 96 power, shunned all discord and showed no weaknesses. They  
 dwelt together in one town and were ever friendly with one  
 97 another as their own shadows. Thus there was never the least  
 enmity among them on account of the royal dignity and they  
 developed the virtues of the Bodhisatta in the Shavajītaka<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See note to 60, 71.

<sup>2</sup> On account of the merit, the *puṇya*, inherent in such performances.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Mahāślavajītaka* (Nr. 50), Facsimile I, 261 ff. The point of the comparison lies in the fact that the Bodhisatta as King Mahā-*sīlāta* of Benares, although his position was threatened by the Kosala king, undertakes no deed of violence in order to preserve his kingdom.

The Licchavis too of Viśālā carried on the government in 98  
harmony and without discord and won thereby the victory<sup>1</sup>.  
Rulers of men of little discernment, infatuated by the beauty 99  
of the maiden Lañkā, did what they ought not to have done  
and fell in consequence into much misfortune. But rulers of 100  
great discernment, made happy by the beauty of the maiden  
Lañkā, did what they ought and were thereby happy and  
famous. As rulers of this kind have these three Lords of men 101  
held fast to harmony, and I say: that was wonderful.

When the Great king, rich in virtue, saw his brother to 102  
whom he had granted the umbrella and other distinctions  
enter (in pomp) with royal retinue, he rejoiced, gazed at him 103  
again and again and realized thus in himself the unique,  
sublimest spiritual perfection<sup>2</sup>.

As the highest in the dynasties of the princes of the earth, 104  
as supporting pillars of the Order, possessed of immeasurable  
virtue, living according to the pious doctrine, shunning to  
follow the path of evil, associating with pious friends, desirous  
of reaching the road to the salutary path of deliverance — thus 105  
these Rulers dowered with pious virtue, who saw in faith their  
highest good, did honour with sacrifice in piety to the Tooth  
of the blessed Enlightened One and to the Doctrine and the  
Order, accumulated abundant merit assuring the fullest sal-  
vation and piously sheltered the Order of the Sage and this  
stainless Lañkā. For ever (therefore) shall one honour this 106  
Ruler of Lañkā, distinguished by virtue, who ever remembers  
the fulness of valuable qualities of the Sage, the sole Lord  
protector of the world, having piously accepted them in his  
heart, and who then further remembers<sup>3</sup> his sublime doctrine  
and his Order<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Viśālā, name for Vesali (note to 37, 80). Our verse alludes to the  
fact that the Licchavis were able to maintain themselves against the  
intruding Kosals while the Sakyas succumbed to them. ROME DAVIES,  
Buddhist India, p. 269—60.

<sup>2</sup> P. विश्वामित्रं ब्रह्मद्वारावेषं चक्रं. W. translates freely "only  
turned his mind to contemplate the virtues of benevolence to all men."

<sup>3</sup> I translate *विश्वामित्रः* thus in contrast to the preceding *सुरामित्रः*, the former being a necessary corollary of the latter.

<sup>4</sup> धार्मद्वारावेषं is a dvandva compound and चक्र = saṅgha.

107 Thus this Monarch dowered with great royal power, the great King of kings, protected the Order of the Sage and this stainless Lañkā in pious fashion; making men of all countries contented and dispensing to them great happiness he made gods and men beam with joy, discerning, strong in merit, miraculous power and dominion.

108 While the highly famed Great king, dowered with great power, resided in the great town and protected the laity and  
 109 the Order, the powerful Olandas, sea merchants who had been entrusted with the protection of Lañkā at the time of King Rājastha<sup>1</sup>, fulfilled the task of envoys to the kings who ruled  
 110 in Lañkā. Every year they were wont to bring with great reverence and great ceremony as gifts and lay before the King  
 111 various stuffs, made in different countries, along with many other articles, fitted for the use of a king, which they had  
 112 carefully chosen out. In consequence of former actions of the  
 inhabitants of Lañkā or in consequence of their neglect of  
 113 the laity and the Order, they were now angered in the  
 highest degree and in every way cruelly tortured the inhabi-  
 114 tants of Lañkā<sup>2</sup>. When the highly famed Great king heard  
 115 of these events he thought this was not as it should be, and  
 116 sent dignitaries forth. The dignitaries set forth with the  
 people living in Lañkā, fought a fearful battle with the Olanda  
 people, destroyed the foe, burned down his strongholds and  
 terrified him in every possible way.

117 Now when the enemy were thus tortured by fear a cruel  
 treacherous man<sup>3</sup> placed himself at their head, low-minded,

<sup>1</sup> Rājastha II. Cf. 96. 95.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning is this: The inhabitants of Lañkā have obviously failed in their duty to the deities who like Viñu are the protectors of the country; they have neglected their worship. To punish them the offended deities rouse the wrath of the Dutch for the oppression and injury of the people of Lañkā in every possible way.

<sup>3</sup> Baron van Eck is meant here. He succeeded Schroeder as governor of Ceylon in 1762. The word *skayam* is an allusion to the fact that van Eck died suddenly, immediately after the unfortunate campaign against Kandy. Cf. c. 135.

a villain, the end of whose life was near, and with a great following consisting of Jāvakas and many other people he laid waste in every (possible) way the various provinces and villages, the vihāras and the temples of the gods, the bridges, rest-houses and the like. The dignitaries charged by the Ruler of Lāñkā fought here and there in every way with their war-skilled troops, but although they defeated the foe in various places, the enemy were not to be warded off, and they advanced against the town. The war-equipped high dignitaries hindered the foe on the way by every means, took up a frontal position against them and checked their gradual advance. The discerning Great king, the Ruler of Lāñkā, who understood the conditions of the time, thought: it is impossible to stop the advance of the foe who are like a forest fire, and he entrusted the two uparajas with the sacred Tooth Relic, the Mahest, his sister and all valuable treasures, to watch over them well and sent them to a province which was scarcely passable owing to mountains, forests and difficult roads. Thereupon the hostile hosts like cruel armies of yakkhas, forced their way into the town and destroyed the sacred books and everything else. Surrounded by his great dignitaries like the senapati and others, and by war-skilled heroes who knew the right occasions from the wrong, the Great king took up a position at the head of his great army here and there in the suburbs situated not far from the capital, and invested the town on every side. The people dwelling in Lāñkā who had remained true to the teaching of the Buddha adopted the plans of the King and cut down here and there many of those who had gone over to the enemy, whomever they caught sight of, but the envoys of the King and the other officials and the community of the bhikkus they took under their protection. The bold warriors gifted with heroism who were on the King's side played the war game, and as their aim was the protection of the Order of the Victor, they fought surrounded by their warlike men in every way with the enemy who were posted at various positions on the road, put them to flight, began then to fight also with those who lay in the

133 town and repeatedly caused them great losses<sup>1</sup>. I think it  
 was no wonder that men adopted the plans of our King: the  
 134 deities did the same. Hence after a short time the greatly  
 deluded leader of the enemy was smitten with fear, horror  
 135 and delusion which came over him owing to the might of the  
 gods and owing to the power of the merit (of the King). He  
 left the fair town, fled without prestige and landed in the  
 136 fire of death. Victims of the power of infatuation all the  
 hostile armies who had advanced, were helpless and shelterless,  
 137 and came to a bad end. Some were visited by illness, some  
 tortured by hunger and disease, some were slain in fight,  
 some had lost themselves in mountain and wilderness: thus  
 138 were the miserable people on the enemy's side destroyed.  
 "Protected in such wise by gods, men and others", one said.  
 "this Monarch is certainly of great power: he is rich in  
 139 merit. Who in the world will be able to neglect the com-  
 mands of so mighty a king who is so rich in merit?"

<sup>1</sup> Verses 130—132, describe the guerrilla tactics employed by the Sinhalese. The attacks are directed first against the communications in the rear, the positions in the line of march. The troops in Kandy are thereby isolated and so exposed to attack.

<sup>2</sup> The whole section vv. 168-179 (cf. vv. 169 ff. and note) is perhaps historically the most valuable part of the latest Culavangī. It refers to the military events of the year 1765 (see H. W. Cummins, BC., p. 142 ff.; P. E. Potts, 3, p. 118 ff.). The cause of the conflict again lay in the sphere of trade policy. The King wanted to secure his share in the srica and elephant trade, and to compel the Dutch to yield this he burned and hindered the business of the Dutch Company in every possible way, particularly in their export of cinnamon which was for them specially important. At first the Dutch sought to keep the peace by weak surrender. It was not until 1763 under the Governor van Riel that they decided on warlike measures. Their first venture in this year was a failure. Two years later the Dutch troops entered Kandy, but suffered so under the perpetual attacks of the Sinhalese that they were soon obliged to evacuate the town and withdraw with the severest losses to Colombo. These facts are passed over by the chronicles in silence: 1) There was a conspiracy in 1761 against Kittisiri, important so far as it was obviously the work of the nationalistic circles at Court and was directed against the Irawidian dynasty. 2) At the beginning of the hostilities the King started negotiations with the

When after the hosts of the enemy had been done away 140 with, the Great king no longer beheld a hostile army, the Ruler had the fair town cleansed as formerly and in fitting 141 manner the temple of the Tooth Relic and the other sanctuaries specially beautifully decorated. He was filled with 142 pure reverence towards the sublime doctrine of the Enlightened One, meditated ever on the sublime words of the Enlightened One, was filled with remembrance of the virtues of the sons of the Enlightened One and ever reverenced the Tooth of the Royal Enlightened One. The Ruler of men who in such wise 143 was completely devoted to the three sacred objects, could not bear the pain accruing to him from his separation from the Tooth Relic. So the Great King, strong in faith, betook himself<sup>1</sup> with his retinue to the most impassable part of the province, and when there he caught sight of the reliquary, 144 he reverenced it piously, his heart full of astonishment and admiration. He bent his head to the ground, worshipped (the 145 relic) with his head, greeted reverently the community of the bhikkhus and so chased away his pain. Filled with good 146 comfort, he raised the casket with the relic to his head, held a great feast and celebrating with the sound of the cries of 147 "Hail!" and the firefold-musical-instruments a great ceremonial festival, he entered into his town. Then when the 148 people of Lanka saw the Ruler with the relic, they rejoiced greatly and sent forth their cries of "Hail!". He brought 149 the relic into the former Tooth temple and instituted all the former festive customs in increased measure.

The Samgharāja<sup>2</sup> and many other sons of the Buddha in 150

British, which however, led to nothing. The British embassy to the Court of Kandy was Pybus. By a famine in his own country caused by the neglect of agriculture during the war forced Kittisiri in 1760 to make a peace treaty with the Dutch very unfavourable to himself. By this treaty he made over to the Dutch the whole coastal district of the island, so that the kingdom of Kandy was completely cut off from the outer world and absolutely dependent on the good will of the Company.

<sup>1</sup> One expects of course a *gavdā* to govern the *med. mahādeggātī rattham*.

<sup>2</sup> This was the *Sāryaṇipikāra* mentioned in 97. 61 and 98. 23. The

all the monasteries of the town who saw that the danger of  
 151 the cycle of rebirths is far greater than the danger of the  
 foe, had not given up the monastic life but had departed  
 152 with books, relics and articles of use, and dwelling outside  
 of the country had protected the Order. The King of kings  
 153 brought them all speedily back to the town, had the mo-  
 nasteries in the town cleansed and made the bhikkhus take  
 up their abode in them. Then he sought out from among  
 those who were charged to school themselves in the study of  
 the scriptures and in the carrying out of the commandments,  
 154 the appropriate preachers, invited them and listened ever and  
 again to the Rājovūḍā<sup>1</sup> and other portions of the sacred  
 scriptures.

155 The many Olanda people who had been our foes thought  
 156 of the custom of the country. They all came together, took  
 counsel with one another and said: "to capture the whole of  
 Lankā is impossible." After they had finally realised this  
 157 they consulted ever and again: "The people here who rebelled  
 against the King, the ruler of Lankā have gone to perdition;  
 158 it will be the same with us. It is fitting therefore, that we  
 dwell here in the town with humility, love and reverence  
 159 towards the sovereign of Lankā." Together with gifts for  
 the King they took full of reverence the beautiful, empty  
 160 silver reliquary which had been carried away by the great  
 fool and which sparkled like a cetiya, as well as the golden  
 161 canopy<sup>2</sup>. They thought: we shall seek pardon for the wrong

title of *saṅgherūja* borne by the head of the whole priesthood but  
 which had fallen into disuse since the 15th century, had been conferred  
 on him by Kitteiri in 1750. P. E. Panns 2, p. 76.

<sup>1</sup> I. e. "Admonishing of the King". Perhaps this is the same as the  
 Rājavagga of Aśvaghoṣa, III. 147 ff.

<sup>2</sup> When the Dutch under van Eck advanced on Kandy the Sinhalese  
 secured the Tooth Relic (v. 123 ff. but the *korayata*, in which it was  
 preserved and the *śivikā* erected over it in the temple fell into the  
 hands of the enemy. Van Eck took them with him on his retreat to  
 Columbo. His successor however, J. W. Falck, returned these highly  
 sacred objects. The result of this prudent and conciliatory policy was

committed by our countrymen and shall from now onwards live (in peace), betook themselves to the Ruler, praised him, showed him reverence and spake many friendly words. The 162 King, the sovereign of Lañkā, pardoned them their great wrong and showed them distinction in every way. In this 163 wise by friendly negotiations our King achieved with them firm and lasting<sup>1</sup> friendly relations. The Olinda people also 164 became thoroughly reconciled with the King of Lañkā and were wont every year to present him along with valuable gifts, the products of various countries, with a royal letter which had been handed to them. But the Ruler had the 165 sacred casket which had fallen into the hands of the infidels, covered with gold and silver and set with jewels. After having 166 thus made its beauty like to that of the sun<sup>2</sup> he had the Tooth Relic placed therein and reverenced it as the King of the gods.

Thus was the pride of the wicked hosts of the infidel 167 destroyed. Ha, (so great was) the power of the merit of the pious, believing Ruler of the Sīhales. Thinking of this astonishing, wonderful thing, people should devote themselves full of reverence to the virtue of the true faith which is incomparable, praised by the good, splendid.

Since at that time there was not a single bhikkhu on the 168 fair island of Lañkā, he had after taking over the burden of government, residing in Sirivaljhana, made many sāmāyikas 169 and as many sons of good family go through the ceremony of renunciation of the world and of admission to the Order. Of these bhikkhus some were preachers of the doctrine and 170 acquainted with the precepts of monastic discipline, some led a life of contemplation or that of hermits. After he had thus 171 ordained so many hundreds of bhikkhus dowered with this and other virtues<sup>3</sup> he beautified the whole of Lañkā (formerly)

that the beleaguered garrison left behind in Kandy and reduced to sore straits, was granted a free passage.

<sup>1</sup> P. *ekram kattuva* must, I think, be referred to *mettilakkha*.

<sup>2</sup> P. *sataayasi*, the "hundred-rayed", name of the sun.

<sup>3</sup> Pāda 1 is of course defective. We expect *ekamadigayagutta*. But

172 bereft of bhikkhus. Day by day he performed meritorious works, invited the community and dispensed to it daily food and food for the sick, mindful of the welfare of the bhikkhu community.

173 For bhikkhus and sāmāyeras there were two kinds of disease, such as had to do with the body and such as affected the mind. To cure mental disease the best of men had the Vinaya 174 texts and the Suttantas preached. After he had had the bhikkhus instructed in the Vinaya and the Suttantas which are the cause of the removal of desire and other diseases among mental 175 diseases, the Ruler — when suffering arises through bodily disease it is difficult for the bhikkhus to school themselves in the study of the scriptures and in the carrying out of the 176 commandments<sup>1</sup> — to calm disease like fever<sup>2</sup> and the like for this reason invited the community. He appointed for them 177 two physicians, well schooled in the medical art, and nurses.

To these he granted villages and fields and facilities in the 178 way of garments, ornaments and the like, and as price for medicines he gave them yearly a hundred (money pieces) from 179 the royal treasury. In the various monasteries the Ruler asked after the health or ill-health of the sāmāyeras and the bhikkhus and gave them the requisite care.

180 In this wise also the King of kings dispensed gain for the community. "Of all gains<sup>3</sup> the gain of health is the highest 181 and best", thus the Buddha taught and therefore even he also dispensed<sup>4</sup> it. He furthered in the best way the Order of the Enlightened One by making it lustreous.

emendation is inadmissible. The fault is the author's, the MSS. are not to blame.

<sup>1</sup> V. 175 is a kind of parenthesis. In correct language the sentence would be accompanied by an *iti* or its equivalent as a reflection of the King's. Cf. note to 180, 52.

<sup>2</sup> W. is probably right in connecting *jarā* here with *śrī*, *jarā* (not P. *jarā* "age").

<sup>3</sup> Note that *abbha* means a gain or advantage of an external kind.

<sup>4</sup> *Apūjāyi* is here used as synonym for *dispensi* in 180-b.

Formerly the rulers of Lañkā, the best of most excellent 182 men, the supports of the Order, removed the infidelity of the hosts of the foe and 'then bore the burden of the royal dignity. When the King heard thereof and himself compassed in spirit the doctrine revealing itself to him and fraught with immeasurable blessing, he performed continually meritorious works, unweariedly, a support of the Order'.

Here ends the ninety-ninth chapter, called 'Account of the King's Consecration and of Other Festivals', in the *Mahā-vansī*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The panegyric character of many strophes occurring in this chapter of the chronicle seems again to prove that it was composed when the king Kittisirīrājāsīha was alive. The poet flatters him with the conventional phrases.

## CHAPTER C

### THE HISTORY OF KITTISIRIRĀJASIHA

1. The highly famed Lord of men<sup>1</sup> honoured the Tooth Relic with constant reverence even as (a world ruler) his wheel<sup>2</sup> and worshipped it in every way sacrificing<sup>3</sup> with all kinds of flowers, such as sumann, campaka, punnāga, nūga, kuṇikāra, 2 ketakī<sup>4</sup>, white and blue lotus flowers and the like, as well as with perfumes of every sort, such as sandal and aloe wood; 3 with divers kinds of fragrant incense, with sugar, honey and so forth and with delicious remedies like betel nut, camphor 4 and betel leaves; with various prepared dishes such as sweet food, rice and cake, with golden bananas and rose-apples, with bread fruits, mangoes and phārusa fruits<sup>5</sup>, with date 5 plums<sup>6</sup>, oranges<sup>7</sup> and sweet mūḍakas, with yellow and green

<sup>1</sup> I anticipate the subject *māhātmya* [v. 8-9] and *janānanda* [v. 12-13]. The sentence goes on to v. 22 in which the first finite verb appears. Various gerunds occur before this and the subject "the King" is repeated several times.

<sup>2</sup> P. *cartha*. This is the first of the seven jewels (*rājatraya*) peculiar to the *rājā* *cakravartī*, the world ruling king (cf. for this D. II. 172 ff., III. 61 ff.; M. III. 172; PTS. PD. n. v. *rājatraya*), a marvellous chariot that carries him victoriously over all countries.

<sup>3</sup> I anticipate *pūjātā* in v. 8.

<sup>4</sup> The botanical names are successively: 1) *jasminum grandiflorum*, 2) *richelia chomphaka*, 3) *rotella rotatoria*, 4) *mesua ferrea*, 5) *perospermum acerifolium*, 6) *pandanus odoratus*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also Mbva. 89. 43 and note.

<sup>6</sup> P. *timbarikā* a kind of *diospyros*. The fruit called *timbari* is compared in Jn. VI. 457<sup>1</sup> to the youthful female breast. We do not know what the *phārusa* is.

<sup>7</sup> P. *nārāṅga* = skr. *narāṅga* which is borrowed from the Persian *nārāṅg*. *Māyakā* again is unknown.

coconuts, with ripe pomegranates, with dates, grapes and various other fruits, with many fine roots<sup>1</sup> and sprouts of every kind. With such and other offerings, with the five kinds of musical instruments, with many of the things taken over from former kings and with new thereto he worshipped the Tooth Relic day by day, thereby intent on merit, increasing the store of his meritorious works. With gold and silver, with fair precious stones and pearls, with countless, brightly embroidered, gleaming stuffs; with canopies, curtains and robes, with many articles of use and manifold ornaments, with many elephants and steeds, as well as with cattle and buffaloes, with many slaves male and female and with numerous villages and fields he sacrificed full of zeal to the Tooth of the Enlightened One and when the Prince of men beheld it he was filled with pious joy. He was minded to have the golden casket completed which had been begun under former kings but had never been finished. After a splendid, jewel-encrusted<sup>2</sup> casket had been made for two thousand suvappas and seven nikkhas<sup>3</sup>, the Lord of men ever intent on meritorious action, had a costly, splendid, magnificent, large diamond placed on the point; one hundred and sixty-eight beautiful, costly, splendid (smaller) diamonds, well worth seeing, and one hundred and seventy-one topazes<sup>4</sup> he had put on it, further he had it set with five hundred and eighty-five blue sapphires and four thousand eight hundred and eighty rubies, also he had it set with seven hundred and seventy-eight pearls, and when the costly casket

<sup>1</sup> P. वृक्षकांडि. The word *krudra* „root“ (skr. the article is missing in Cuttack and also in the PTS. P. D.)

<sup>2</sup> P. मणिकम्पा. The word *kravya* does not mean „coconut“ here, but „beauty, ornament“, as is often the case.

<sup>3</sup> *Suvappa* as well as *nikkha*, as also skr. *suvartya* and *nikha* denote a weight and a coin. The *nikkha* is = 16 *suvappa* (PTS P. D. s. v.).

<sup>4</sup> P. पुण्ड्रादग्निप्रदान. It is true that *puṇḍrādya* by itself means „topaz“ (= skr. *pasparīga*). What is expressed, however, is the fundamental meaning „Yellow coloured“. Thus we have in the same way *utthamepi* „blue gem“ (17 d) for „sapphire“ and *ratnamapitam* „red gem“ (18 c d) for „ruby“.

20 was finished he had two further caskets made in which to place it and had these also set with costly splendid, beautiful 21 jewels. The Ruler of men had the casket made by the famous 22 King Vimaladhammasuriya<sup>1</sup> overlaid with gold. Then the Ruler of men, celebrating a great festival, placed the Tooth 23 of the Sage in these same (caskets). Full of pious joy the Ruler dedicated a large village, Akurabhangla by name, to the Tooth of the Prince of the wise.

24 At the festival of the relic the Ruler in his mercy thought 25 to show the Tooth Relic to the inhabitants of Lankā. After the Ruler had had the whole town of Sirivajjhana carefully cleansed and decorated throughout with arches of many-coloured stuffs, with rows of arches of banana leaves, with bunches of coco blossoms and with all kinds of flags and 26 pennons, he gathered together in the town all the people of Lankā. The Ruler of men himself, adorned with all the royal 27 ornaments, like the King of the gods, betook himself after he had previously celebrated many great sacrifices of all kinds, 28 to the temple of the Tooth Relic, sacrificed to it in every possible way, worshipped it, he the Ruler by throwing himself 29 in humble posture<sup>2</sup> to the earth out of reverence for the 30 Tooth Relic of the King of the wise. Then he took the golden lotus flower together with the Tooth in the lotus of 31 his hand and went forth from the temple with it. With sacrificial ceremonies, celebrated<sup>3</sup> with silver umbrellas and fly-whisks of yak tails<sup>4</sup>, with golden and silver flowers, with the 32 five kinds of flowers, *lauja*<sup>5</sup> and so forth, with many jewels and pearls, with gold and silver, with various coloured stuffs

<sup>1</sup> In Mhv. 94. 11 ff. it is related that he brought the Tooth Relic from Lubujagāma to Kandy. Nothing is said in the passage about the making of a *karavāda*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 98. 60 and note.

<sup>3</sup> P. *karigāmāvapajāya* in v. 34 c.

<sup>4</sup> P. *camaricāmārakī*. The fem. *camari* is also employed in Skr. (BR. 6. 1. 1. *camitra*). See above 98. 14, as well as Jāt. IV. 266 *camari* *śāṅgīgha*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 98. 40 and note.

and many kinds of ornaments, with divers fragrant flowers, 33  
 with many lamps and incense, and amid the sound of the five  
 musical instruments, the shell trumpets, the cymbals and the  
 rest, and amid the noise of the many thousandfold cries of 34  
 Hail! — it was like foam-crowned billows<sup>1</sup> — the highly 35  
 famed King marched in procession like a world ruler in his  
 chariot<sup>2</sup>. In the superb, beautiful maṇḍapa, decorated with 36  
 all kinds of brightly embroidered cloths, like a heavenly  
 maṇḍapa stood the King, the Ruler of men, like the King of 37  
 the gods at the head of the company of the gods, and then  
 the King showing the multitude of the people the sacred  
 beautiful Tooth of the Prince of the wise, right harī to attain  
 in hundreds of thousands of world ages, filled them all with 38  
 bliss, heaped up a store of merit and laid (the relic) again  
 in the casket.

In this wise, feeling every kind of bliss, as at the sight 39  
 of the living Buddha, the multitude also increased the store  
 of their merits.

Intent on good, he repeatedly exhibited the Tooth Relic 40  
 in the same way and so stored up much good. Of villages 41  
 and fields devoted by former kings of Lankā to the Tooth  
 Relic he took not away the very least. Day by day holding 42  
 a great sacrificial festival in joyful faith, he dedicated many  
 elephants and horses and in the same way bulls and buffaloes,  
 as well as a prosperous, populous village by name Rajakāthala, 43  
 and another large village by name Mottāpabbata<sup>3</sup> and gained  
 thereby for himself the value of meritorious works.

He was mindful of the parity of the Order. Amongst the 44  
 bhikkhus who were formerly present on the splendid island  
 of Lankā, and amongst all the sāmayeras who had undergone

<sup>1</sup> P. *salādāgālā* or stands quite independently of the construction  
 of the sentence, as a kind of parenthesis. It refers to the whole  
 procession.

<sup>2</sup> See note to 100. 1, Note 2.

<sup>3</sup> There is a village Endagoda in the Kandy District, Medapalata  
 Korale, a village Mutugala in the Kurunegala District, Uduknha Korale  
 West (Census 1921, II, p. 40, 328).

the ceremony of world renunciation, were some who had fear  
 46 of evil, respected the true doctrine, living in good moral  
 discipline, in pure fashion. Others cherished evil, were of  
 46 bad moral living, followed false doctrine, took pleasure in the  
 maintaining of women and children and in domestic duties  
 and devoted themselves to unseemly professions such as astro-  
 logy, medical activity<sup>1</sup> and the like.

47 When the Ruler heard tidings of such unprincipled  
 (bhikkhus) he sought out<sup>2</sup> with care from among the pious  
 48 (bhikkhus) who were on the side of the high principled, the  
 respected sāmaṇera, named Sarayaṇikara, who led a pure life,  
 dwelt in the wilderness, took pains for the furthering of the  
 Order of the Victor, was careful of moral discipline, virtuous,  
 49 well instructed, experienced in the interpretation of the words  
 50 of the Enlightened One. With the reflection that this was the  
 right thing to do, the Ruler with his support, ordered accord-  
 ing to precept, an investigation, took strong measures against  
 51 them and had them seriously admonished that from now on-  
 wards those who had renounced the world should for ever avoid  
 unseemly task, like astrology, medical activity and the like and  
 52 should foster<sup>3</sup> the study of the words of the Buddha. As the  
 King was minded to further the Order which had fallen into  
 53 decay, he strengthened the influence of the high principled,  
 54 and in many ways gave the Order support. The Ruler was  
 appalled at the thought that with the lack of bhikkhus on  
 whom the ceremony of admission to the Order had been per-  
 55 formed, the pure Order of the Victor should perish on the

<sup>1</sup> That is the activity of the *loparāla*, the successor or devil-priest whose help is sought in cases of illness and for warding off the baneful influence of the planetary deities.

<sup>2</sup> *P. sañcittā rājāñcīrā* cannot belong to *patentīy*, as W. seems to think, but must govern the following accusative. For Sarayaṇikara cf. above 91. 51, 60; 96. 23; as well as note to 99. 150. The Saṅgharāja died in the year 1778.

<sup>3</sup> The construction of the sentence is quite wrong. It would be right if instead of *rakṣhitum* in 52 b we had *rakṣhitātī* whereby vv. 51 and 52 a b would be characterized as *avatīcī* *rañcī*.

whole island, and with the reflection: if a Ruler like myself carries on the government in the island of Lankā, then the 56 Order of the Victor ought not to perish, — further with the reflection: the furtherance of the Order which was not attained in the time of former rulers in spite of their sending 57 hither and thither for bhikkhus, this will I now bring to pass, the Ruler of men, the Monarch, rich in merit, since he de- 58 sired a long continuance of the Order of the great Seer, when 59 the year two thousand two hundred and ninety-three after the final nirvana of the Prince of the wise<sup>1</sup> had come — sent messengers to whom he gave besides gifts of many kinds and 60 many sacrificial articles, a splendid royal letter, to the superb town of Ayojjhā<sup>2</sup>, to fetch hither sons of the Buddha. In 61 this wise the Ruler of Lankā who was minded to purify the Order of Buddha, began the furtherance of the Order of the Prince among victors.

The dignitaries took the royal letter and the rest and 62 started with great ceremony and with great zeal on their way. With the Olanda<sup>3</sup> people who were entrusted with the pro- 63 tection of Lankā, they embarked and sailed to the land of Sāminda. When the town of Ayojjhā was reached the Ruler 64 of men in that country accepted the royal letter and the rest, as was the custom. In best fashion the prudent one showed 65 the dignitaries the honour befitting them and took note of the excellent royal letter. When the Ruler of men Dhammika 66 by name, who striving after the dignity of a Buddha, fulfilled the ten pārami<sup>4</sup> and took the Order under his protection,

<sup>1</sup> — 1749 A. D. What is meant is the time of the close of the embassies to Siam which had already begun under Kittisiri's predecessor Vijayarājasiha. We have an interesting account of these embassies by a member: "An Account of Kirti Sri's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka, 1750 A. D., published by P. E. Potts in JRAS. C. II. xxiii, nr. 54, 1908, p. 17 ff. I see no reason to doubt the genuine character of the document. The relations established by the coming of the bhikkhus from Siam are potent in their influence even to-day. The Siamese sect is the wealthiest and the most influential in the island of Ceylon. For the vicissitudes experienced by these embassies see Potts 8, p. 74, 78, 75 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See note to 90. 91.

<sup>3</sup> See for this note to 97. 130.

67 heard the news of the decline of the Order of the Victor in Lankā, and of the other (evils) he was most deeply moved.  
 68 The Ruler thought: "I will be a helper in order to achieve there the furtherance of the Order of the Enlightened One."  
 69 He summoned the Sarpharāja in the Sāminda country and many other well instructed Grand theras, versed in the doctrine and acquainted with the rules of the Order, who had for a  
 70 long time renounced the world, who were capable of carrying out the business of the Order and took counsel with them  
 71 carefully about the matter. He called together a Chapter consisting of a group of ten (bhikkhus), an abode of virtues, easily satisfied and content, dowered with the virtues of a life of piety and discipline, and besides the Thera Upāli as head.  
 72 These the Ruler who was well inclined to the Great king on the island of Lankā — like to King Vessantara<sup>1</sup> — sent<sup>2</sup> to  
 73 Lankā, to the splendid relic temple of the Victor and (with them) books on the doctrine and on monastic discipline which  
 74 did not exist in the island of Lankā, further a golden image (of the Buddha) and a superb golden book, a magnificent royal letter, gifts of various kinds and dignitaries of the King of  
 75 Ayojjhā (as envoys)<sup>3</sup>. The great vessel<sup>4</sup> which after the golden image and the other gifts had been put in order, was sent off  
 came without disaster over the sea<sup>5</sup> rich in perils, hiding many  
 76 a disaster, to the fair, splendid island of Lankā and reached  
 77 the harbour of Tikeyamala<sup>6</sup>. When the Great king, the Ruler of Lankā had tidings of this, he had all the inhabitants of

<sup>1</sup> The last human incarnation of the Bodhisatta; cf. Vessantara-jālaka (Nr. 547; VL 479 ff. in Fausböck's edition).

<sup>2</sup> All the accusatives in vv. 71-74 are governed by *apaceti*, to those in v. 71 must be added the gerund *manantayittha*. The gifts, among them the golden image, are enumerated in the narrative quoted above (note to v. 69). The number of the theras with Upāli at their head, is however given as twenty-one, with eight subtheras in addition.

<sup>3</sup> Three in number according to the narrative.

<sup>4</sup> The subject word in 73 c is repeated with emphasis in 78 d. The language in the whole section is extremely cursory.

<sup>5</sup> I. e. *gantihī*, used substantively and supplemented by *saṃvade*.

<sup>6</sup> I. e. Trincomalee.

the town of Sirivadžjhana called together. In joyful faith the 78 Ruler of men celebrated a great feast. From the sea as far as superb Sirivadžjhana-pura he had the road put in order and 79 rest-houses<sup>1</sup> erected at various places. Then the Ruler sent forth the Mahāsenāpati and other dignitaries and made them fetch so in the right order the golden image and the sacred books, the bhikkhu community and everything else. When with great 81 pomp and great ceremony they making their way had reached the vicinity of the Mahāvūlukagangā which comes down from 82 the Sumanakūṭa, the Ruler of the town Sirivadžjhana, the Ruler 83 of men desirous of gaining the reward accruing from the festive reception of the three sacred objects<sup>2</sup>, the highly famed Great king intent on merit, went forth with the army in piety to meet 84 them with elephants, steeds and so forth. He showed reverence to the august Grand thera and to the others and at the same 85 time greeted the great community. Having exchanged with them in the best way possible the customary speeches of welcome, he came with the three sacred objects at the head, to 86 his town. In the fair Puppharāma<sup>3</sup>, in a graceful brick-roofed building erected by him, in this decorated monastery he made 87 the august community of monks take up their abode. Then he provided them in fitting manner with the necessaries and 88 charged officials to enquire day by day after their health or ill-health. The Ruler of men accepted the splendid royal letter 89 sent by the King of Ayojha and he made the royal envoys who 90 had arrived and the other officials take up their abode in a fitting place and showed them all the distinction to which they 91 were entitled. In the year two thousand two hundred and 92 ninety-six after the final nirvana of the Enlightened One<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> P. ārāma, thus buildings which were specially intended for the sojourn of the monks.

<sup>2</sup> In the train of the envoys from Siam there were 1) a golden figure of the Buddha (Buddha), 2) sacred books (dhamma) and 3) the bhikkhus with Upali at the head (saṅgha).

<sup>3</sup> "Flower monastery" the now so-called Malvuta-vihāra situated immediately on the bank of Kandy.

<sup>4</sup> = 1752 A. D.

93 in the month Āsāha<sup>1</sup> when it was full moon, the all-powerful  
 93 Great King, dowered with vast royal power, betook himself  
 to the monastery. He had seats carefully spread in the middle  
 94 of the fine Uposatha house contained therein. Then he invited  
 the Grand thera Upāli, dowered with the quality of a life  
 led in moral discipline, experienced in all clever methods, who  
 95 had his pleasure in the welfare of all beings, and second to  
 him the Thera Āriyamuni<sup>2</sup> together with the (rest of the)  
 96 community and bade them be seated. Then with the cele-  
 bration of a great festival the Ruler of men, the Ruler of  
 Lankā, made these perform on the most distinguished of the  
 sāmāyeras of Lankā the ceremony of admission to the Order.

97 From that time onwards he was wont to fetch hither  
 sāmāyeras and others who were versed in the linguistic text-  
 books on the sacred scriptures, and have performed on them  
 98 the ceremony of admission to the Order. In the same way  
 he sought out rightly all those who were worthy of the  
 ceremony of world renunciation and of admission to the sublime  
 99 Order of the Enlightened One and had the ceremony of world  
 renunciation and of admission performed on them according to  
 precept. Among the bhikkhu communities who thus had become  
 100 numerous in Lankā, he again sought out those bhikkhus who  
 were full of lusty zeal in preserving the study of the sacred  
 scriptures and of the rules of monastic life and who were  
 101 qualified for and worthy of the position of a teacher, and  
 charged them to take instruction from the brethren of the  
 Order who had come from Arogjhā. Now among those high  
 principled bhikkhus who carried out the commands of the  
 102 Victor, there was one who<sup>3</sup> had long been at pains to make

<sup>1</sup> The month June-July.

<sup>2</sup> In the narrative (p. 84) quoted above (note to v. 39) the Grand  
 thera Āriyamuni is mentioned as second to Upāli.

<sup>3</sup> All the relative sentences beginning with *yo* in vv. 102-107 refer  
 to *taṇa* in v. 107 c. This part of the long-winded sentence is but loosely  
 connected with the preceding which ends with *āriyamuni*. If we might  
 alter *āriyamuni* into *āriyajīva* and put a full stop after it, the construction  
 of the sentence would be all right.

lustrous the Order of the Sage which for a long time had been on the verge of ruin in Lankā, — who in accordance 103 with his insight, as far as possible untiringly, day and night, made lustrous the sacred scriptures of the Prince of the wise and his rules for monastic life — who also instructed as dis- 104 ciples many others in the sacred scriptures and the rules for monastic life and thus in worthy manner brought splendour to the Order, — who striving for his own salvation and that 105 of others, with the wish to obtain long continuance for the Order of the Sage, ever took pleasure in a pure life, — who 106 as regards virtue, discipline and devotion to duty was as a mirror for all the sons of the Victor in Lankā who were intent on their salvation, — who during the time that he was a 107 skāmavās was called Sarayampakara: this son of the Victor living in pious discipline now that he had been admitted to the 108 Order, he (the King) invested with the dignity of a Sapp- 109 gharāja<sup>1</sup>. Amongst the bhikkhus who had joined him, he sought out in both monasteries<sup>2</sup> such as were skilled and well versed in the carrying out of the duties of the Order of the 110 Master and assigned them positions of rank. Explaining to them: ye all who live out the doctrine of the Victor, should 111 act in harmony, day and night unweariedly, in accordance with the rule of the Order and according to the sacred scriptures, the Ruler showed them much favour and in this wise made 112 the Order lustrous so that it should continue for long in Lankā.

The royal envoys too, arrived from the Sāminda country, 112 and the others sought out the King, handing over to him the royal letter and the other gifts. The Great King, the Ruler 113 of Lankā, accepted everything, and after the Monarch had made a close inspection of the superb royal document he highly 114 pleased, had favours conferred on them. Now the Ruler who for his own good, the good of others and the good of the Order, had again and again performed meritorious works, who 115

<sup>1</sup> See above note to 99. 160 and to 100. 69.

<sup>2</sup> In the Malvata and the Asigiriya-vihāras in Kandy, which are the seats of the two mahāmāyakas, the heads of the Church of Ceylon.

116 was devoted to the true doctrine, a light of the Order, greatly  
 116 wise was wont to visit the monastery and to test in every  
 way in the midst of the community, the means for long con-  
 tinuance of the Order. As he wished to make illustrious the  
 117 Order, he invited in fitting manner the Grand thera Upali  
 and listened with believing heart from the Digha-Nikāya, the  
 118 Saṃyutta-Nikāya, the Saṭṭhamañña-saṃgaha and from various  
 other books, the (sections on the) tenfold royal duties and the  
 119 four heart-winning qualities. To faith awakened, of deep  
 discernment, he thus learned to distinguish between what ought  
 and what ought not to be done, between what is meritorious  
 action and what is sin, what is blameworthy and what is not  
 120 blameworthy, and he left undone all things which should not  
 be done, which are sinful and blameworthy, and strove as  
 best he could after the things which ought to be done and  
 121 are not blameworthy. Almsgiving and other meritorious works  
 he performed day by day, and after he had had the whole  
 122 town decorated as formerly he full of reverence invited the  
 dignitaries who had come from Ayoḍhā and all the people of  
 Lankā, the Grand thera (Upali) with the other bhikkhus (from  
 123 Śāminda) as well as the bhikkhus from Lankā, the sūpāeras  
 and all the others, and celebrating as formerly with royal  
 124 ornaments and all kinds of other sacrificial gifts a great festival  
 he exhibited the Tooth Relic for the salvation, blessing and  
 happiness of them all.

125 Since the royal envoys wished to do reverence to the  
 Mahiyangāna-cetiya and the other cetiya places, he sent them  
 126 in the company of Lankā officials, to the various places, let  
 them as they desired, perform their devotions and sent them  
 127 home after showing them to the utmost befitting favours. In  
 the same way giving them sacrificial articles and appointing  
 officials (charged with their care), he enabled the bhikkhu  
 128 community with Upali at the head, to visit the sixteen sacred  
 places<sup>1</sup> in Lankā, Mahiyangāna and so forth, as well as the

<sup>1</sup> According to W. these were: 1) Mahiyangāna, 2) Nāgadipa, 3) Kalyāṇī, 4) Samountakī, 5) Divigūḍī, 6) Dīghavāḍī, 7) Muṭiyangāna.

ectiyas in Sirivadjhana and other towns. Then he had sacred 120 boundaries<sup>1</sup> fixed, and intent on the good of the bhikkhus, Uposatha houses and dwellings erected here and there. Devoted 130 in faith to the bhikkhu community he had in three years monasteries founded and made bhikkhu communities take up their abode in them. In the periods of the rainy season<sup>2</sup> he 131 provided the fitting maintenance, listened to the sermon of the true doctrine and kept the uposatha fasts. When the 132 bhikkhus were presented<sup>3</sup> with the various necessities he gave them in addition to the otherwise customary robes<sup>4</sup>, kathina robes<sup>5</sup>. In the course of these three years he had the cere- 133 mony of admission to the Order performed on seven hundred persons in the august community, and for three thousand sons 134 of good families he caused the granting of the ceremony of world renunciation as atmoperas for the good of mankind.

For the good of the world the King, the Ruler of men, 135 effected the furtherance of the Order; for that reason must all gracious Brahmans, Suras and Asuras grant the Monarch happiness and long life!

In the year that bears the name of Sūkāra the Ruler of 136 men Dhūnumika the sage, who had helped so much to further the Order in Lankā, since, he wrote, after the dignity of a Buddha, sent once more from the town Ayojjhā a group of 137

(in Badulla), 9) Tissamahāvihāra (Tissamahāvihāra in Mahūgūma, Habaya) 9) the Bodhi tree, 10) Maricavatī-cetiya, 11) Ratnawālukha (Mahāthīpa), 12) Thīpārāma, 13) Abhnyugiri, 14) Jetavann, 15) Seheeziya (9 to 15 in Aemrahapura), 16) Kājarāgāma (Hubaya).

<sup>1</sup> P. *satrīya bhikkhūsāmīya*, lit. "he had fixed boundaries made". The expression *steerya bound* is used for the fixing of the territorial boundaries of a monastery which was carried out with particular ceremonies (Mhv, 15, 131 ff.; 78, 61 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> P. *antaraññavasa*. That is the rainy period lasting three or four months which the bhikkhu along with his companions, must spend in a settled abode (in the monastery).

<sup>3</sup> P. *paricittāra*. What is meant is the *Parivāra* ceremony held at the end of the rainy season.

<sup>4</sup> P. *parinārācikarohi*. *Paricittāra* here has the sense of "ingrident necessities" (PTS, P. D. n. v.).

<sup>5</sup> See note to 11. 48.

more than ten priests with two theras at the head — the Grand thera Visuddhācariya<sup>1</sup>, who was an abode for the virtue of a life lived in discipline, whose ornament were faith and 138 the other virtues, who was a mine of virtue, and the capable, 139 learned second thera Varanāśapāṇi — to Laṅkā for the further- 140 ance of the Order in Laṅkā. When this community arrived 141 the highly famed King of Laṅkā accompanied them as for- 142 merly with great honours into the town, made them take up 143 their abode in the Pupphārāma and dispensed to them daily 144 regular food and everything else as formerly.

142 After accumulating a store of merit the distinguished Thera Upāli who during these three years unweariedly day and night 143 had done all that was to be done for the furtherance of the Order, was severely troubled by a disease of the nose which 144 beset him. The Sihala Ruler had the best medical treatment 145 given to the incomparable Grand Thera (thus) seized by ill- 146 ness. Again and again the highly famed King went to the 147 monastery, visited the Grand thera and when he learned, his 148 heart deeply moved, that the disease was incurable he cele- 149 brated with sacrificial objects of every kind, a sacrificial festival 150 for the Buddha and ascribed the merit of it<sup>2</sup> to him (the Grand thera). When the Thera was dead the Ruler of men 151 took the corpse with great ceremonial laid in a covering of 152 fine stuff, had many sacrificial ceremonies performed, the corpse 153 brought to the pyre and the prescribed rites carried out and 154 thus accumulated merit.

149 The King was aware of how helpful the Ruler of men, Dhūmmika, the sovereign of the Sāciānta country, had been 150 in the furtherance of the Order of the King of the wise in Laṅkā, by twice sending a pious bhikkhu community and by 151 bringing about the presence of many hundreds of bhikkhus, whereas formerly there had not been a single bhikkhu on the

<sup>1</sup> As regards the word *mahācūḍācāriya* *thera* we must I think, join the *mahā* with *thera* in order to get the counterpart to *anubhāra* in 138 b.

<sup>2</sup> For *putthidā* see note to 42.50. In this case the *putti* is transferred to a dying man, not one already dead.

island of Laṅkā and by sending books of every kind which 151  
 were lacking. He thought: "To a man like that who has 152  
 given me so much help I will also pay in befitting manner 153  
 fitting honours." He ordered ministers forth to whom he 154  
 gave a model of the Tooth of the Sage fashioned out of a 155  
 costly jewel and many varied gifts such as a likeness of the 156  
 Victor, a shell engraved towards the right<sup>1</sup> and other things,  
 and also a splendid, specially artistic royal letter, and sent 157  
 with them the bhikkhu community who wished to return to 158  
 their own country (Sāminda). With great reverence all the 159  
 dignitaries received this and journeyed forth to the country 160  
 of Sāminda. When they arrived<sup>2</sup> there King Dhammika was 161  
 joyful in heart. He gazed to his hearts content at the likeness 162  
 of the Tooth of the Sage and at the rest, and full of joy as 163  
 if he had (himself) received the Tooth of the Enlightened One,  
 he celebrated day by day a great festival. Then when he 164  
 heard and had taken note of the many words expressed in 165  
 the royal letter; the transference<sup>3</sup> of the merit of the further- 166  
 ance of the Order and so forth, he put glad confidence in the 167  
 King of Laṅkā. He gave over (to the envoys) many books 168  
 which were not in Laṅkā, a beautiful likeness of the sacred 169  
 footprint<sup>4</sup>, as sacrificial gifts for the Tooth of the Victor golden 170  
 canopies and umbrellas and all kinds of beautiful and splendid 171  
 presents, suitable for the royal use, as well as a royal letter 172  
 in which expression was given to the share in all merits as 173  
 his own admission to the Order<sup>5</sup> and the like, wherein the

<sup>1</sup> Such shells are very rare and precious. Their possessor is supposed to be exceedingly lucky. Shells of this kind are mentioned among the gifts exchanged between King Devūmappiyatissa and King Asoka (Mhv. 11, 22, 30).

<sup>2</sup> The acc. pl. *anupatti* is governed by *apace* in v. 103 c. Vv. 166-169 certainly form a most clumsy sentence.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to what is related in v. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. with this the note to v. 254.

<sup>5</sup> I assume that *attīpāsāyati* means that Dhammika belonged himself, if only for a time, to the Order, as is customary even to-day in the royal family of Siam. With this he had acquired great merit a part of which was to accrue to Kittisiridajatha.

163 reasons for the friendly relations between the two kings found expression, and sent all that to their, holy Lankā.

164 All this the highly famed King of Lankā accepted. When he beheld the books of the good doctrine and the gifts like 165 the footprint of the Sage, he rejoiced greatly and paid great honour to the gifts. He celebrated a great festival and showed 166 them to all the people. Then when he had looked at the royal letter and taken note of the many words expressed in it, such as the transference of merit and the like, also the 167 friendly relations mentioned, the Ruler of the Sihalas was filled with the highest bliss by satisfaction at the transferred 168 merit'. He thought: "The reward accruing from the meritorious works like furtherance of the Order I have experienced in this 169 life, what shall one say of that which may be perfectly enjoyed in a future existence?" In this wise the Ruler believed 170 firmly in the three sacred things. The Ruler of Lankā betook himself to the monastery and heard the sermon of the true doctrine preached by the Grand Thers who had arrived the 171 second time. He charged those bhikkhus who had been admitted into the Order by the chapter of monks who had arrived first, to take instruction from the bhikkhu chapter at whose 172 head Visuddhācariya<sup>1</sup> stood, and had the ceremony of admission to the Order performed in proper fashion by those theras on numerous sons of good family.

173 Of the bhikkhus in Lankā some whose ornament was their virtue, learned with the Grand Thers by name Visuddhā- 174 cariya, absorption which is the way to nirvana; others learned 175 with the second Thera Yarāñgāmuni the content of the doctrine and monastic rules, as well as linguistic knowledge. Thus the King pledged the bhikkhus of Lankā to the study of the 176 sacred scriptures and to the practice of moral discipline and so sheltered the Order of the Enlightened One. And the 177 bhikkhus of Lankā were zealous and discerning. Received into

<sup>1</sup> P. *pattānamodināna* stands as is shown by the preceding verse, for *pattī-nāma*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See above v. 136 B.

the branch of those ascetics who are without wants, who have taken upon themselves a life of discipline, unweared, never indolent, they made of the doctrine of the Victor a reality, zealous by day and night, absorbed in difficult texts; and the 178 King showed them honour by the dispensing of dwellings and the like. The chapter of bhikkhus which had come the second 179 time and wished to return to their own country he sent away with Olonda merchants. On a firmly fixed rock situated on 180 a beautiful spot not too far to the east of the town of Sri- 181 vajjhana he had hewn out by skilful workers, masons and 182 others a splendid standing image of the Victor nine cubits<sup>1</sup> 183 high and he had the radiant, shining stone image overlaid 184 with gold plates so that it resembled the living Sage. Round 185 about this Buddha statue he had erected a lofty, massive, 186 beautiful stone wall and superb stone pillars placed and a 187 splendid, beautiful two-storeyed temple built fair to look at, 188 as well as a roomy court, outer walls, rampikes and so forth 189 set up in the best way. Then he put thereon canopies and 190 curtains of all kinds of coloured stuffs. Round about he placed 191 arches one after another and provided them in every way 192 with much ornament. Here and there he set up various flags 193 and pennons and on the day of the sacrificial festival of the 194 eyes<sup>2</sup> he lit a row of lamps, placed filled jars (about) and 195 carried out in blameless fashion the various customs prescribed 196 for festivals. To the people who supplied the coloured paint- 197 ings, he dispensed abundantly robes, ornaments and the like 198 and satisfied their wishes in every way. Then he made the 199 splendid loud clang of the musical instruments, like shell 200 trumpets, kettledrums and so forth resound, like the roar of 201 the wide sea, and under a good constellation, at a good hour, 202 on a good day determined as favourable he put in the eyes 203 and celebrated a great festival. Numerous silver bowls and 204 many silver vessels, costly necessities and valuable meunks<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e. 13—14 ft.

<sup>2</sup> What is meant is the putting in of the eyes in the Buddha statue which always took place with quite special ceremonies.

193 robes, banners, white umbrellas, shields, fly-whisks and fans —  
 194 all these and other fair objects of sacrifice the Ruler offered,  
 mindful of the reward accruing from a sacrifice to the Buddha,  
 with the thought that it was as if it took place in the pre-  
 195 sence of the still living Prince of the wise, with a heart full  
 196 of the joy of faith, intent on merit. Many and manifold foods  
 also such as sweet dishes, rice, solid dishes and others, sugar,  
 honey, betel, lime, camphor and so forth, also remedies and  
 197 perfumes of every kind like sandal<sup>1</sup> and the like, beautiful  
 flowers, like jessamine, campaka blossoms and others — all these  
 198 and other objects of sacrifice he offered in pious fashion. The  
 makers of the Buddha image and the other people he rejoiced  
 by an offering of many animate and inanimate things, elephants,  
 199 cattle, buffaloes and so forth. If one reckons the sums spent  
 in the making of the Buddha statue and the other offerings  
 200 on the occasion of this vihāra festival according to their  
 money value, the result was sixteen thousand one hundred  
 and fifty (kaṭhāpanas).

201 The large, beautiful vihāra, well worth seeing, which is  
 known as Gaṅgārāma because it was built on a fair spot near  
 202 the Mahāvālukagangā was founded by the King under the  
 203 name of Rājamahāvihāra. This vihāra, thus superbly furnished  
 with glory and splendour, was also destroyed by the enemy<sup>2</sup>  
 204 who had penetrated into the town. The King had it in the  
 best way restored to its original condition, and just as he had  
 205 held a solemn ceremony at the former eye festival, so (now)  
 he held another eye festival. After the Ruler of men had  
 dispensed in great abundance to the painters and so forth  
 206 garments, ornaments and other articles and had sacrificed  
 with many sacrificial gifts, he erected near by a fair monastery

<sup>1</sup> I think *ārāgandha* should be taken in this sense like the corresponding skr. word.

<sup>2</sup> Thus we learn here that all these festivities described in the foregoing took place before the capture of Kandy by van Eck in 1765, that on this occasion the Gaṅgārāma founded by the King, was also destroyed, but as related in the following, restored after the destruction of the Dutch expedition, when the change of name possibly took place

for the community and made a chapter of bhikkhus who 207 devoted themselves with lasting zeal to the study and the fulfilment of moral duties, take up their abode there, providing 208 them in every way with what was necessary. Then by holding 209 in the way described formerly, full of reverence for the Triad of the Jewels, a sacrificial festival for the Buddha, and 209 at the same time sacrificing to the chapter of the bhikkhus, he increased the fulness of merit for himself and the laity.

Now in order that this beautiful fair vihāra, worthy to 210 be seen, that was erected in this manner, and all the numerous sacrificial ceremonies inaugurated there and the many meritorious works such as the offerings to the community — should be continued for a long time in the right way, the Ruler determined a village situated near the vihāra by name Arisp- 212 pula, and many other villages and fields, and gardens also, as well as the large, populous village by name Udakagāma<sup>1</sup> 213 in the district of Miyādhānu and granted them (to the monastery). And the King confirmed this in perpetuity by 214 having an inscription graven on the beautiful mountain (in the stone).

In this way the King of kings dowered with splendid 215 virtues, since he realised the worthlessness of acquired wealth, in his piety had sacrificial festivals celebrated for the Buddha and sacrificial festivals for the community of the excellent sons of the Victor and so performed perpetually all valuable, meritorious works<sup>2</sup>. Therefore should ye all also perpetually perform without wearying, meritorious works.

In the fair, splendid suburb by name Kuṇḍasālī, the Ruler 216 of men had erected in a charming garden a vihāra fair to look on, supplied in the best way possible with outer walls 217 and many pillars, and brought thither relics and images of the

<sup>1</sup> Now Diyagama. Three villages of this name might be the one in question: 1) Diyagama in the Kalubura District, Vudduhadda; 2) Diyagama in the Magul Otoṭa Koral, Kurunegala; 3) Diyagama in Deyālakābhānuva Pātūwa, Kegalla (Census 1921, II, p. 48, 289, 614).

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "the full value of meritorious action" (as opposed to "merit in ab-

218 Sage. Then he dedicated (to the vihāra) the garden that was adorned with bread-fruit trees, mango trees, cocopalms and other fruit trees, as well as many fields and villages and people  
 219 for the service of the monastery, and celebrated, intent on merit, day by day all sacrificial ceremonies, such as offerings of food and the like.

220 The wicked king known by the name of *Uttasila* in the town of *Silāvaka*<sup>1</sup> who had committed parricide and destroyed the Order of the Victor, as he could not distinguish what it  
 221 was right to do, had adopted a false faith, was devoted to the adherents of the false faith and ordered them to take for themselves the income accruing from the worship of the sacred  
 222 footprint of the Enlightened One on the *Summukūṭa*. From that time onwards the adherents of the false faith destroyed  
 223 everything there. When the highly famed Great king heard  
 224 of these things he realised, reverently devoted to the En-  
 lightened One, that this was unseemly. He commanded the  
 225 adherents of the false faith from now onwards not to do so, and charged the sons of the Buddha to carry out in the right  
 way the many sacrificial ceremonies which should be performed  
 there. He dedicated the flourishing, populous, large village  
 226 named *Kuṭṭāpiṭi* to the sacred footprint and to shield it from  
 the heat of the sun, he erected above it a *maṇḍapa* with eav-  
 227 tains, adorned with an umbrella on the point, fastened it with  
 iron chains and accumulated much good by the celebration  
 of sacrificial ceremonies. But the income accruing therefrom  
 he assigned to the Order.

228 In this manner did our happy, sublime<sup>2</sup> *Sihala* ruler in the knowledge that what that deluded king had done, because he knew not the virtues of the sublime Sage — was unseemly, put away all the wrong and by entrusting the spotless bhikkhu community of the sublime sons of the Buddha therewith, he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for this 93. 3 ff., especially v. 12. Line 220 a agrees in wording with the line 93. 5 a.

<sup>2</sup> Note that in this strophe the word *pāvita* occurs in each of the four lines.

celebrated a ceremonial festival for the Buddha which granted sublime immortality.

The *Majjhavela-vihāra*<sup>1</sup> built by the ruler, King *Vappa* 229 *gāmāyū*, which had fallen into decay, and the *retiya* belonging 230 to the *vihāra* he had rebuilt in the finest way and granted it the village called *Singatthala*<sup>2</sup> that had been long separated from it. Day by day he celebrated there in the right way a 231 sacrificial ceremony and so smoothed the road to heaven which he would have to tread in the future.

To the *Dutiyasela-vihāra*<sup>3</sup> the Ruler of men granted the 232 village by name *Rutamadaya*<sup>4</sup>, having learnt from the record of a stone inscription that it had formerly belonged to it but 233 had been severed from it, and by the highly famed, intent on merit, celebrated a sacrificial festival.

For the restoration of the *Majjhapalli-vihāra*<sup>5</sup> the Ruler 234 conferred distinction on the bhikkhu *Samptharakkhita* in pious fashion. He caused a great recumbent image (of the Buddha) 235 to be made and finally he had a great festival celebrated there and the festival of the eyes held. In order also to perform 236 the (customary) sacrificial ceremonies he dedicated the village called *Mālagāma*<sup>6</sup> (to the monastery) and had a sacrificial festival celebrated daily according to rule. To the *sāmanera* 237 called *Siddhattha* the Ruler granted the large *Rujala-vihāra*<sup>7</sup> erected by King *Duthtagāmīy* when inspired<sup>8</sup> by the wish 238

<sup>1</sup> W.: *Melavela-vihāra*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Singagoda*, *Kinigoda* *Korale*, *Kegalla* District (Census 1921, II, p. 514).

<sup>3</sup> W.: *Duttiyagāma-vihāra*.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps *Rutamadaya*, *Galboda* *Korale*, *Kegalla* District (Census 1921, II, p. 520).

<sup>5</sup> W.: *Meldepola-vihāra*.

<sup>6</sup> The Census 1921, II, p. 298, 303 mentions a village *Mulagāmava* and another *Mālagāmava*. Both are situated in the *Kurunegala* District, the first in the *Galboda* *Kgoda* *Korale*, the second in the *Medapatu* *Korale* East. The latter seems to be meant here.

<sup>7</sup> See note to 29. 41.

<sup>8</sup> P. *paththet* *ayatana* is a composite verb formed after the *Sinhalese* model (*gāyāvāsi*, *gāyāsi*).

for the august position of a chief disciple of Metteya<sup>1</sup>, the King of the wise. After the Ruler of Laṅkā had caused the ceremony of admission to the Order to be performed on him, he granted this bhikkhu and all the sons of the Victor dwelling in the Uposathārāma rank and showed them favour in every way. Then in order to restore this vihāra which had long been in the state of a ruined house, the Ruler of men in Laṅkā assigned it divers artisans, painters and others, as well as much fine gold wherewith to gild the Buddha images, and all handiwork and so forth. That prince among ascetics — Siddhattha — accepted all this and removed in the best possible way everything that had been destroyed by age. He had a lofty, massive stone wall and a fine plaster floor built in the house, and outside a mandapa, as well as (a picture) the figure of the Buddha in combat with Māra above on the rock face. Then when he had caused creeper work of flowers to be applied in the best manner possible and had caused a vast image of the recumbent Buddha to be fashioned out of good bricks, lime and clay and also many sitting and standing images of the Victor, he had represented in the best way possible in painting on the beautiful inner wall, enlightened ones like Mahuttamī<sup>2</sup>, a thousand in number. And at the foot of the vast statue of the recumbent Buddha he had placed one after the other beautiful images, that of the Buddha's constant servant and protector of the true doctrine<sup>3</sup> — Ānanda, that of the Bodhisatta Metteya, that of the sublime patron deity (Viṣṇu), and that of King Gāmīṣṭa. He overlaid the five great images of the Buddha with gold, and when he had thus in every possible way finished the works which were to be

<sup>1</sup> Metteya is the future Buddha. Each Buddha has two pre-eminent disciples ascribed to him (upasādikā). Those of the historical Buddha were Sāriputta and Moggallāna.

<sup>2</sup> I do not know who is meant here. W. omits the name in his translation.

<sup>3</sup> Sudharmasāvatthī refers to Ānanda. It is he who according to Vin. II, 287, was questioned as to the dharma, by Mahākassapa at the first Council.

made in the inside (of the shrine), he had pourtrayed also outside on the wall a series of glorious figures of gods and Brhma figures with flowers in their hands, which looked as if they had appeared for worship. Then too he caused a great, beautiful triumphal arch to be made, well worth seeing, further two lion figures on either side of the portal and in the empty interspaces of the wall figures of demons. Also he had pictures pourtrayed in coloured painting of the sixteen holy places<sup>1</sup>, Mahiyangana and the others, further of the famous foot-print on the Saccabuddha mountain<sup>2</sup>, of the ten paramis<sup>3</sup>, of the three forms of (right) action<sup>4</sup>, as well as of many jatakas in which subjects like the five great renunciations<sup>5</sup> are treated of. In the madjapu he had all kinds of figures introduced, series of lions, series of elephants, series of ganes and creeper work of flowers. In the delightful cave above in the same rock he built a vast image house, well worth seeing, splendid, beautiful with many sculptures fashioned to perfection and so forth. There he had a beautiful, vast, life-like sitting Buddha made — splendid was this figure and fair to look at — and on either side well fashioned, upright standing statues of the Bodhisattva Metteyya and of the lotus-hued god<sup>6</sup>. He also caused many other figures to be set up: figures of sages, figures of many hundreds of the perfect<sup>7</sup>, the four and twenty Buddhas, the

<sup>1</sup> See note to 100. 128.

<sup>2</sup> This is a sacred mountain in Siam, called Saccabuddha in the narrative (p. 31) mentioned above (Note to 100. 59). There was a foot-print of the Buddha on it which had come there miraculously. King Dharmamitra had sent a model of this footprint along with other gifts to the King of Lankit.

<sup>3</sup> See note to 37, 100.

<sup>4</sup> P. *tidhā caryī*. The three forms are *lokathasariyā*, *ākāshasariyā* and *saiddhisariyā* "action for the advantage of the world, for the advantage of one's kinsfolk and for one's (own) enlightenment." See DBCo, III, 441<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> P. *prākramaparicaya*. The surrender of the five precious possessions, the wife, the children, the royal dignity, life, limbs. DBCo, i. c. *Uccesava*, PD. n. v. *paricaya*. <sup>6</sup> See note to 89. 49.

<sup>7</sup> P. *asankha* "he who no longer undergoes training", synonymous with *arhant*.

261 whole of the Bodhi trees in the same number, the four and  
 twenty intimations<sup>1</sup>, the sixteen holy places, fair forms of  
 spiritual beings and others, the five great Councils<sup>2</sup> and yet  
 262 divers other beautiful pictures well worth seeing. Then he  
 263 brought thither relics of the Sage and had a cetiya erected,  
 264 adorned with a golden finial. In the image house itself he  
 265 had placed on the lofty vaulted<sup>3</sup> ceiling a sitting figure of  
 266 the Sage surrounded by his five hundred followers, Sāriputta  
 267 at the head. In the court he had walls and mayūrapas erected  
 268 at different places, as well as several guta-buildings and here  
 269 and there stairs and other fine buildings, partly the restoration  
 270 of much that had suffered by age, partly also many new  
 (buildings).

267 All these fine structures the King dedicated (to the mo-  
 268 nastery) at the festival of the eyes by dignitaries whom he  
 had sent<sup>4</sup>, and in addition clothing, ornaments and much else.  
 He had rows of various triumphal arches without gaps put  
 269 up, placed on them the necessary ornament, gave orders for  
 270 the sacred ceremonies and while celebrating in worthy fashion  
 a great rite, he carried out the festival of the eyes under a  
 lucky star and at a favourable hour.

<sup>1</sup> Each of the 24 Buddhas who according to the legend, precede the historical Buddha — they are enumerated Mhs. 1, 5 ff. — has his special sacred tree under which he attains enlightenment. To each in a former existence on a particular occasion, a Buddha gives the intimation (*ryakareya*) that he too shall in time attain the dignity of a Buddha.

<sup>2</sup> The Mahāvagga 3, 4 and 5, 203 ff. gives an account of the three first Councils (*Thaumissangyūhi*) in Rājagaha, Vesali and Pātaliputta. Of the two other Councils the one is the Church reform under Parakkamabāhu I (Mhs. 72, 1 ff.), the other perhaps that under Parakkamabāhu II (Mhs. 84, 7 ff.). We get an idea of what the representation of such a council might have looked like from a fresco from Qyzil near Kutscha (Central Asia) the subject of which is the first Council. See A. von Le Coq and E. Watanabe, Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien VI, p. 79 and Tafel 14.

<sup>3</sup> P. *ubhaya pabbhāra-m-uttama*. Very likely a picture on the ceiling.

<sup>4</sup> The construction of the sentence is quite irregular. It seems to me, however, that posite 'men' is nec. pl. which like the preceding neopositives is made to depend on *dravida*.

From that time onwards there came hither many inhabitants of the whole kingdom from all quarters, like the sea when it overflows<sup>1</sup> the land. When all the people who had gathered there beheld the many golden and other works of art which had been carried out, there their hearts were filled with joy, as if they saw the Enlightened One at the miracle of the double appearances<sup>2</sup>. In joyful and high spirits they celebrated amid cries of Hail! a great festival and thus paved their way to Heaven. At that festival he invited the bhikkhu community of the vihāra, had seats prepared in the inner room of the vihāra, made bhikkhus who were preachers of the true doctrine sit down thereon, and had the Mahānāgālasutta<sup>3</sup> and other sacred texts worth hearing recited by them and thus celebrated in worthy manner a sacrificial festival of the doctrine<sup>4</sup>. All the people who saw and heard this, in that they at one and the same time beheld the Enlightened One<sup>5</sup> and heard the true doctrine, were filled daily in every possible way with the highest joy and ecstasy, as if by a sermon of the living Sage. Thus he made manifest both: the beauty of his form and the charm of his sermon.

Outside in the court he placed pillars of stone, erected a mayūrapa, spread seats therein and after establishing the great multitudes gathered round the mayūrapa in the five major and other commandments relating to moral discipline, he made them listen daily to abundant texts. Full of reverence he also invited the preachers of the doctrine to preach the doctrine repeatedly during the three watches of the night.

<sup>1</sup> The *gāvukasā pūrphorūp* is often mentioned, as is the case in the ancient Mahācaṇḍa (see my translation, note to 17. 41; cf. DīCa. III, p. 190 ff.; Samantapādāśākhā, ed. TAKAKUSI 1, p. 89 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> In the Suttanipāta, Gūlāragga, Sutta 4 (ed. by Dines Asmussen and Helmut Scheff, p. 46).

<sup>3</sup> P. *śāśvatarūpā*. The *śāśvata* itself is the *pūjyārtha*, the "object of sacrifice", because the sacred texts are recited.

<sup>4</sup> I. e. the images of the Buddha in the Rajata-vihāra.

<sup>5</sup> The subject from v. 274 onwards is throughout the King. W. quite unnecessarily takes Siddhattha (see v. 233) as the subject of *nivartiyā* in 281 b.

282 In the year two thousand three hundred and one after the final nirvana of the Enlightened One<sup>1</sup> he had the vihāra called  
 283 Rajata restored and the great festival celebrated. He then thought of repairing the splendid cetiya erected on a clear,  
 284 fine large slab of rock to the south of the vihāra but which  
 was so dilapidated that it resembled a heap of dust. Therefore  
 285 he had fetched from all quarters lime, bricks, stones and so  
 forth. Hereupon he had a fine, square throne built of stone  
 in the best possible manner whereon he placed a relic of the  
 286 sublime Enlightened One. At the restoration of the cetiya,  
 he erected on a neighbouring, particularly beautiful piece  
 of land for the community whom he invited thither in  
 287 sitting manner for the purpose, setting up a marked out  
 boundary, a monastery with an Uposatha house and other  
 288 (buildings) provided with a brick roof and so forth. On the  
 land round about he laid out beautifully a large park adorned  
 with divers blossoming trees, with divers blossoming creepers,  
 289 with divers fruit trees and the like, and where there were  
 many bathing-ponds. And full of zeal as he was, he piously  
 made the sons of the Victor dwell there and devote themselves  
 to study and religious exercises.

290 In such wise was the place restored by royal power, vi-  
 291 sited (in days of yore) by great saints and honoured by the  
 former rulers of Lankā. When the highly famed King heard  
 thereof he fixed the boundary of the vihāra solemnly in the  
 292 same way (as before), performed there all the solemn cere-  
 monies, arranged in still more abundant measure (than before)  
 for an almsgiving to the community and the like and laid up  
 293 a store of merit. Near the Dohala mountain<sup>2</sup> adorned with  
 rows of trees like pūga, pannāga, nāga<sup>3</sup> and others, resound-  
 294 ing with the sweet twitter of all kinds of birds, provided  
 with cool, spotless white stone slabs, enlivened with herds of  
 295 divers animals, there was in the fair monastery situated there

<sup>1</sup> I. e. 1737 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Mentioned in 44. 56. See note to the passage.

<sup>3</sup> For the tree names cf. 73, 98, 74, 204, 79. 3.

which bore the name of Sūkarn<sup>1</sup>, an image house of the Victor, erected by a dignitary who was charged therewith by the King. There the councillor Sarappongāma setting up 296 stone pillars, built an Uposatha house and dedicated it to the sons of the Sage. He also had supplies of wood collected 297 for pillars and the like and numerous dwellings built there. To the bhikkhus to whom dwellings had been assigned there, 298 the Lord of men devoted many villages, fields and so on for the provision of what was necessary. After that Ruler of men 299 had caused all this to be brought about he kindly dedicated it to that prince of ascetics, Dhammarakkhita.

After the Ruler of men had in such wise stored up divers 300 kinds of merit he passed in the thirty-fifth year of his reign from this world thither in accordance with his deeds.

When one reflects on the worthlessness of wealth and of the 301 life of the flesh one utterly rejects the yearning thereafter. Ye also, revering the Triad of the sacred things, ought to perform good works such as spiritual exertions and the like<sup>2</sup>.

Here ends the hundredth chapter, called «The History of Kittisirīrājasiha», in the Mahāvagisa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

<sup>1</sup> The Col. Ed. reads *sukarnagassanamuni* instead of the *sukarnagamuni* of my MSS. W. gives Varāraja as the modern name of the monastery.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of the hundredth chapter has the character of a supplement to chapter 99 and treats especially of the services of the King to the Church. It repeatedly alludes to events which have been touched upon in the foregoing (cf. 98, 99 with the note to 100, 59, also the note to 100, 203). I have already pointed out (note to 99, 58) that Tibboṭavāre's contribution to the Culavagisa (see note to 99, 70) which deals with the reign of Kittisirīrājasiha is composed in praise of this king and completed during his lifetime. This is the case too with the greater part of the hundredth chapter. Here too in v. 228 we meet with the expression *mukhakun* *Sukarnā* and the benediction in v. 195 sounds as if it were addressed to a living person. At the end however Kittisiri's death is mentioned. The last part of the hundredth chapter must thus have been added later, whether by Tibboṭavāre himself or by another author. The break cannot be fixed with certainty, it might possibly be at v. 228.

## CHAPTER CI

SUPPLEMENT<sup>1</sup>

1 On his death, his younger brother Sirirājādhirājastha<sup>2</sup>  
 2 received consecration as king in Laṅkā. After attaining his  
 consecration as king, he devoted himself with pious joy to  
 3 the Trial of the Jewels, zealous in listening to the true doc-  
 trine, unwearied, discerning. The Ruler of men continued, as  
 formerly without abatement that furtherance of the Italy and  
 4 the Order which his brother had carried out. The highly famed  
 offered meat and drink and so on as before to the sublime Tooth  
 5 Relic without depriving it of anything. He commanded that  
 the regular almsgiving which had been established for the  
 sons of the Victor should be given to them in the order in-  
 6 troduced by the (former) king. The bhikkhus who with the Thera  
 Upāli at their head had arrived from Sāminda, came to the  
 7 town of Sirirājdhana. Here those bhikkhus who had come from  
 there, with the Thera Upāli at their head, established a sacred  
 boundary to the south of the town in the so-called Kusumā-  
 8 rāma<sup>3</sup>, according to the habituviya process<sup>4</sup>. When he saw

<sup>1</sup> Chapter 101 of the Mīva has been composed and added to their edition of the chronicle (1877) by H. SPENCER and RANASINGHE. See MARASAKKERA, Pali Literature, p. 142. No MS. however of those which I could examine, reaches beyond v. 292 of ch. 100, and I do not know on which authority the vv. 100, 293–301 are based.

<sup>2</sup> Reigned 1780–1798 (cf. v. 16). It was during the reign of Rājādhirājapūra that the capitulation of Colombo took place (15th Feb., 1798) and with that the passing of the dominion from the Dutch to the British. Cf. PIERS, 3, p. 142 ff.; COUSIN, HC., p. 199 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Synonym for Pupphārāma 100, 86, 141, now the Mātratp-vihāra.

<sup>4</sup> This is a particular form of a *strigakusava* or ecclesiastical net. See VIN. II, 89<sup>2</sup> and 91<sup>2</sup> (= Culār. 4, 11, 2 and 11).

that the Uposatha house built formerly by King Kittisiri, was decayed, the Ruler of men who was intent on merit, first of all raised the ground on all sides and then by the adding of 10 still more stones he put up the walls inside the boundary. He put up stone pillars and so built the Uposatha house which the Ruler made over<sup>1</sup> to the community from the four regions of the heavens.

The King was acquainted with various literary works, works in Pali and Sanskrit, he rejoiced in the continuous giving of alms, was in form like the god of love<sup>2</sup>. As expert in the text books relating to language he made a poem in the Sihala tongue out of the *Asadisajataka*<sup>3</sup> and had it written down. With a heart full of faith he revered<sup>4</sup> the Tooth Relic in faith with a hundred thousand lamps which he had lit in a single night. Hearing of the great merits of a kathina offering over all gifts of alms, he every year presented kathina robes to the community. He had an image of the *Angirasa*<sup>4</sup> made in bronze in the proportions of the King and since he strove after the dignity of a Buddha, he erected in the monastery called *Gangarāma* which was held to be pious, a graceful cetiya well worth seeing.

<sup>1</sup> The description of the building is obscure. V. 9 seems to refer to the securing of the whole base, v. 10 to the laying down of a walled terrace and v. 11 a b to the building of the house itself.

<sup>2</sup> P. *makurashikhaja* = skr. *madaravallīya* "whose budge is the meadow, the dolphin".

<sup>3</sup> Jātaka nr. 181 in Faedra, II, p. 86 ff.

<sup>4</sup> I believe that here we should read *angirasa* instead of *angirat* as the meaning of the latter can hardly be harmonised with *angirat*. The instr. *āgīrāsasahasseum* would also not fall within the construction of the sentence. We must, it is true, put up with a slight disturbance of the metre, when reading *angirasa*.

<sup>5</sup> See note to 44. 48.

<sup>6</sup> *Angiras* in the Rigveda is the designation of "beings half gods half men who act as intermediaries between the two, the sons of Heaven, as ancestors of men, as those who impart to mankind the gifts of the gods" (GRASSMAN). The expression *angirasa* is already used of Buddha, Therag. 1452 (quoted S. I, 195). Cf. also A, III, 239<sup>12</sup>; Jā, V, 141<sup>13</sup>.

18 After the Ruler had accumulated these and other merits he passed after an eighteen years' reign from this world in accordance with his deeds.

19 The sister's son of Rajadhirajasingha, the Lord of men, Sirivikkamarājastha<sup>1</sup>, the discerning ruler of the country hearkened to the doctrine preached by the Victor. The Ruler found pleasure therein and sacrificed to the sacred Tooth Relic 20 jewels, pearls and other (valuables) and many villages and fields. To the community whose head is the Buddha, he 21 dispensed often delicious foods and so strove after eternal 22 happiness. These and other merits the Ruler accumulated.

23 But as he indulged in intercourse with impious people he changed (for the worse). He had the chief councillors, the 24 great dignitaries and many other officials gathered together and destroyed his subjects like a devil. He had the people, 25 many hundreds in number, brought to different spots and had them impaled, merciless as death. Much wealth that had 26 come to the people by inheritance, the King had confiscated like a thief that robs villages. And because the Ruler com- 27 mitted in this way many evil-deeds the Sihalas and the in- 28 habitants of the town of Colombo<sup>2</sup> rebelled. They all came 29 hither, captured the criminal king alive when the eighteenth year after his consecration had passed, and brought him to the opposite coast<sup>3</sup>. After they had brought the King, the torturer of his people, to the opposite coast the Ingiri<sup>4</sup> by name seized the whole kingdom.

End of the Mahāvagga

May there be prosperity!

<sup>1</sup> Reigned 1788-1815. For the rise of the British power in Ceylon during the reign of this king and for the reign itself see *Commissary*, H.C. p. 155 ff., where also on p. 169 f., 182 there is a list of the bibliography of the subject.

<sup>2</sup> This means the British.

<sup>3</sup> I. e. To the Indian mainland.

## Genealogical Tables

### A The Oldest Part of the Mahavamsa

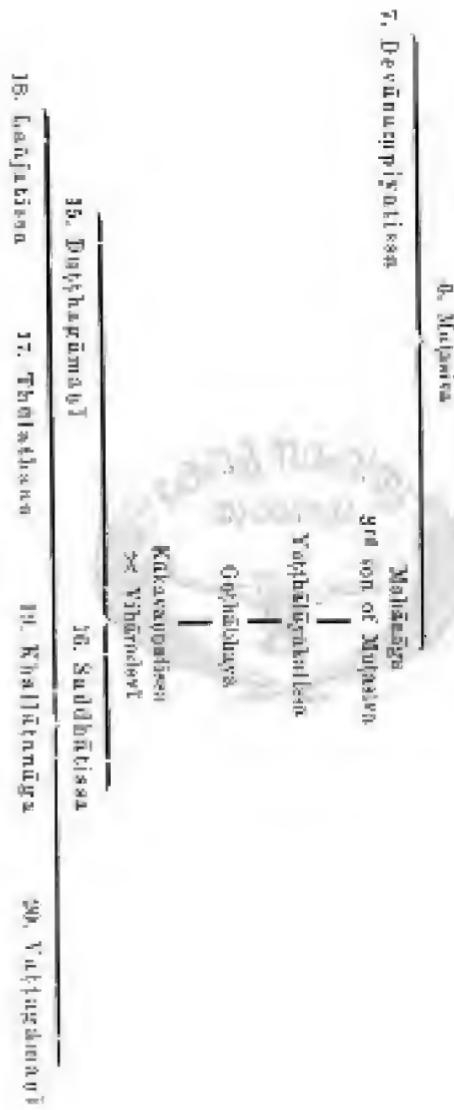
I

#### From Vijaya to Asela



Asela's predecessors are the Damila usurpers Sena and Gottika (11, 12), his successor is Elīra (14).

Yakutskimot a certain way interpreted by the last of the Dzherla interpreters (51-22).



18. **dzherla** and **the subinterpretations**

### **Dzherla and Dzhigansk**

II

## III

## From Mahācūlīmahātissa to Yasalālakatissa



The successors of Tissa (27) are the parents of Queen *Amāyī*, 1. *Sīrañja*, 2. *Vaṭṭagāmī*, 3. *Dārūbhātikatissa*, 4. *Niliya* and *Amāyī* herself (29). — *Yasalālakatissa*'s successor is the usurper *Subharāja* (40).

## IV

## From Vasabha to Mahāsena

## 1.

41. Vasabha, a Lambakanya  
 42. Vajrakumālakatissa  
 43. Gujālabhūkingāmuyī

## 2.

44. Mahallanāga  
 Father-in-law of 43  
 45. Bhūtikatissa      46. Kaṇīṭṭikatissa  
 47. Krogjanāga      48. Kuṇeanāga

## 3.

49. Sirināga I.  
 brother of the consort of 48  
 50. Vohārikatissa      51. Abhayānāga  
 52. Sirināga II.  
 53. Vijayakumāru

## 4.

54. Samghatissa, a Lambakanya  
 55. Sirisāṇḍikabodhi, ,  
 56. Gotthābhaya, ,  
 57. Jetṭhatissa      58. Mahāsena

## B The Oldest Part of the Culavamsa

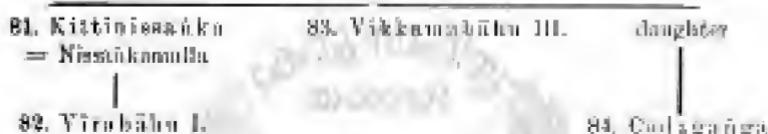
See Culavamsa, Ital. I, pp. 351-358.

## C The Later Parts of the Culavamsa

I

### From Kittinissanka to Cūragaṅga

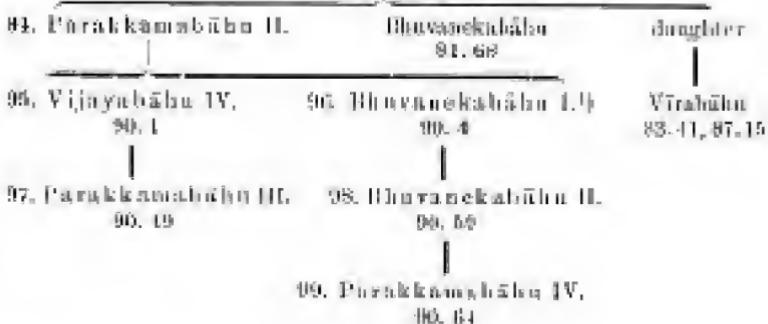
Kālinga Prince



II

### From Vijayabāhu III. to Parakkamabāhu IV.

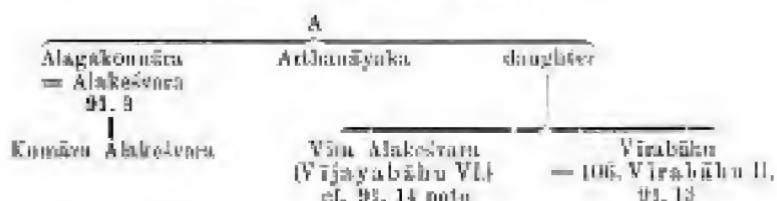
85. Vijayabāhu III.



<sup>1)</sup> Other sons of Parakkamabāhu II, are Tilakamalla, Parakkamabāhu and Jayabāhu (87. 10 f.)

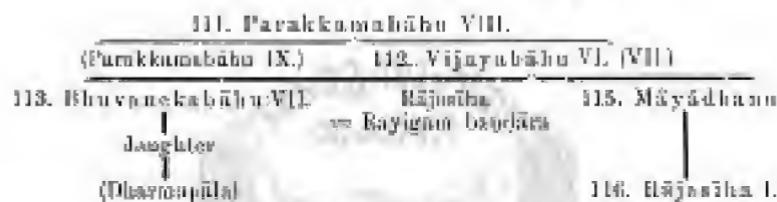
## III

## The family of Alagakkonāra



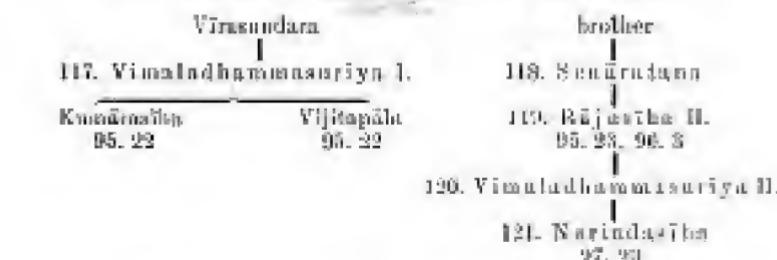
## IV

## From Parakkamabāhu VIII. to Rājasiha I.



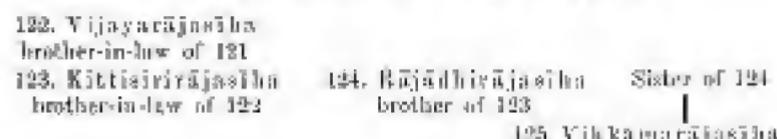
## V

## From Vimaladhammasuriya I. to Narindasīha



## VI

## From Vijayarājasiha to Vikkamarājasiha



## Indices

The indices refer not only to the Culavansha but also to my edition and translation of the old Mahāvansha so that the whole chronicle is comprised within. The abbreviations are: M. ed. = The Mahāvansha, edited by W. G., PTS. 1908. — M. tr. = The Mahāvansha, translated by W. G., PTS. 1912. — C. ed. I = Culavansha, being the more recent part of the Mahāvansha, vol. I, PTS. 1925. — C. ed. II — the same, vol. II, PTS. 1927. — C. tr. I = Culavansha &c., translated by W. G., vol. I, PTS. 1929. — C. tr. II = the same, vol. II, PTS. 1930.

### I. List of words

akkhayavedlikin	72, 245	arabant (M. tr. p. 292)	1, 14
akkhamala	46, 17; 57, 6	agamiya	44, 148
akkhi "taste"	38, 94	ajira	35, 3
ugati	37, 108; 99, 73, 104	adi (in proper names)	44, 6, 122; 46, 1; 48, 50; 91, 2; 98, 2
uggrakapalla	69, 70	alipanda	53, 13
ānāta — saka	47, 10, 14	ayubheda	73, 42
atthamūlavarilāri	61, 59	ārānika	37, 63
atthiyatamāri	84, 4, 18	ālinda	35, 3
asikkhayoga	88, 93, 118	ālambara	69, 20
adlikārin	66, 66; 70, 278	āvaraṇa	79, (27,) 69
ānūlaya	42, 42; 46, 4	āvudhu	99, 15
ānuyyāna	68, 58	iti (in the oratio recta)	37, 114; 44, 16, 90; 45, 20; 48, 30; 116; 74, 61; 77, 99; 94, 23
ānussati	98, 14	itthāgāra	59, 33
ānapāśana	62, 53	īriyāpatha	3, 25
antaraingadhuva	69, 32	udakukkhepastū	89, 70; 94, 17; 97, 12
apūya	72, 306		
appamātī	39, 16		
abhiññā	4, 12; 52, 38		
abhisamanya	1, 92; 12, 27		
ānurāpanātar	42, 3; 52, 38		

прасīка 60, 82  
 пранавана 64, 13  
 прониссaya 5, 45, 172  
 проприяпatti 84, 42; 89, 50  
 прауа 66, 143  
 прауа (the four) 58, 3  
 праsана 24, 1; 51, 100  
 праsата (M. tr. p. 296) 37, 201  
 убхālñkū 4, 46 f.  
 ека- 61, 13  
 екuthambhakapāñda 73, 92  
 екактхамбха 60, 11  
 одакантika 72, 238  
  
 kraukuṭhaka 32, 6  
 kātēnka 48, 140  
 kātyayñvedha 62, 55  
 kātāmūñgala 35, 111  
 kāpparulukha 51, 124  
 kappiyakaraka 37, 173  
 kāmāgata 69, 80  
 kālānda 37, 204  
 kāvajaka 35, 25  
 kāñkiçijiku 73, 68  
 kumbhāpūjaka 12, 20  
 kūlambaya 36, 26  
 kusalodaya 71, 24  
 kñtāgāra 73, 62  
 ketu 85, 109  
 koñisa 88, 109  
 koñthaka 1, 56  
 koñthalsaddhamijjara 79, 28  
 khaggalatā 72, 102  
 khañja 66, 105

khundhāvāra 73, 57  
 khūpāsata (M. tr. p. 292) 3, 9  
 gaja 51, 52; 74, 48  
 gupasangñika 60, 17  
 gati 37, 51; 72, 286  
 gantha 97, 56  
 gandhabbi 74, 216  
 gabdhapariñāra 62, 166  
 gamiyabhatta 51, 61  
 garubhāyājñi 84, 31; 85, 105  
 gūruta 65, 4; 73, 157  
 girise 79, 21  
 gupā (the five) 26, 26  
 gokappa 70, 36  
 gopura 60, 12  
  
 cakkhumāna 61, 26  
 cañja 72, 232  
 caturañgi 70, 217  
 catussāla 73, 23  
 cumbēja 24, 31  
 celnikkhepa 72, 288  
 corayuddha 75, 135  
 chidala 66, 63  
  
 jañila 1, 16  
 jara 99, 176  
 jātakamma 62, 45  
 jāñkavāra 78, 40  
 jeñbhāpaciyaka 41, 9  
  
 tapassī, tapovana 41, 99  
 tādin 15, 62  
 tilñvñcara 17, 7  
 tikkhaggupada 66, 87

ticitara 41, 29  
 tilaka 87, 67  
 tivaka 78, 39; 85, 66  
 tulṣyatīhi 88, 97

tūpikā 76, 105, 118

dṇḍilissara 52, 5; 63, 10; 60, 22  
 dūrkaroti 85, 11  
 de(j)ubha 37, 132  
 dogi 76, 91  
 desū (the five) 26, 26

dhana(jā) 68, 8  
 dhāmmakamma 39, 57  
 dhāmmadāna 98, 77; 99, 15  
 dhāmmadhātu 41, 37  
 dhāmmapābhāta 84, 14  
 dhāmmasatipaga, -satipgiti 3, 17; 4, 63  
 dhātuka 57, 69  
 dhātugabha 60, 56; 68, 28

nandana 68, 38; 73, 29  
 nandin 85, 50  
 nōjālvāra 76, 91  
 nōju 76, 261–2  
 nōmakarasa 62, 30  
 nōyaka 62, 56  
 nikkhala 76, 18  
 niggatika 74, 22  
 nijvadūbhita 67, 90  
 nijjhāra 79, 28, 66  
 nijjhite 90, 52, 58  
 nidaa 37, 133  
 nibandha 90, 21  
 niyatti 48, 108

niyojeti 72, 207; 77, 59, 82  
 nirodha 36, 104  
 nissuigaha 39, 3  
 nīta 67, 96  
 nettila 60, 11

pakalatta 78, 25  
 paccaya (the four) 37, 76  
 paccekabhāttī 72, 248; 76, 244  
 paccepatītībhātīga 98, 50; 100, 29  
 pañcacakunna 5, 261  
 pañcipatti 20, 30  
 pañiyatta 78, 35  
 pañivedha 20, 30  
 pañjili 79, 27  
 pañikata 72, 91  
 pañjispalasa 45, 5  
 pattamukkujana 46, 31  
 patti 42, 50; 44, 109; 52, 69; 73, 47; 100, 116, 159  
 patthegajila 60, 3  
 padakkhipaŋ karoti 37, 106  
 purikkhāra (the eight) 60, 71  
 pariccheda 42, 30  
 paribhoga 51, 20  
 parivattana 73, 71  
 pariveya 37, 63 (M. tr. p. 291  
     is misleading)  
 parisi (the four) 70, 106  
 parivita 73, 116  
 parivekha 71, 27  
 parvapigāra 60, 75  
 pakasāsuta 72, 186  
 pañjava 72, 106  
 pañjihātīyapakkha 37, 202  
 pañujala 38, 64; 52, 65; 53, 50

pādamūlaka 66, 66  
 pāpuratharayūni 54, 24  
 pāpēta (pāpakkummeni) 62, 77;  
     63, 8, 40  
 pātuniga 11, 28  
 pāramitā (the ten) 37, 180  
 pāsāda 37, 50; 72, 241  
 pīṭhito karoti 70, 311  
 pīṭhipāsāpa 68, 27  
 pīṭhasappin 49, 19  
 pīti (five kinds of) 81, 24  
 puṭhakiriyā (the ten) 37, 180  
 puṭhīodaya 37, 139; 53, 23  
 pupphāḍhāna 30, 51  
 public (= ādi) 73, 122  
 pubbaliṭṭha 64, 15  
 puratthā 38, 110  
 pessiya 67, 58; 84, 5  
  
 pharati 72, 251  
  
 kūlipatṭha 57, 7  
 kūluja 59, 12  
 bodhikotṭhaka 79, 72  
 bodhighara 38, 43  
  
 bhatti 74, 240; 83, 33; 93, 9  
 bhaya 74, 49  
 bhava 4, 66  
 bhavavibbava 91, 19  
 \*bhājanā 44, 70; 84, 16  
 bhāṣavāra 98, 21  
 bhāṣubandha 85, 101  
 bhāva 66, 39, 42  
 bhāvī 64, 11

bhākara 73, 92  
 mūgalikāni (the eight) 27, 37  
 mūḍjapa 37, 103  
 marumba 29, 8  
 māhabacca 74, 225  
 mābārukkha 72, 11  
 mātulā 57, 28  
 mukha 70, 156, 217  
 \*mukha 50, 51  
 mukhabhūmiga 63, 30  
 mūttacāgīn 60, 81  
 muddhavedi 32, 5  
 mulamūr 89, 60  
 mūla 74, 1  
 mūlaghīneśāp 58, 56  
 mēḍayāpūpāsāya 1, 39  
  
 yaṭṭhīmādhuṭṭu 32, 46  
 yaṭṭhūcārāp 60, 1  
 yaṭṭhā 76, 261  
 yogga 42, 8; 44, 84; 70, 207;  
     95, 12  
 yōjana 38, 68; cf. C. 1 tr. p. 349  
  
 rāgaabbumi 31, 82  
 rāgaamayūḍha 85, 42  
 rāṭṭha 57, 71  
 rāṭṭhavāṭṭolka 76, 101  
 rāṭṭha 70, 212  
 rāṭṭha 72, 94  
 rāṭṭhadhammā (the ten) 37, 107  
 rāṭṭapāṭṭhata 84, 14  
 rāṭṭavesibhūjāṅga 73, 91  
 rāṭṭini 50, 58  
 rāṭṭyara 76, 94

laya 73, 79  
 läjäpäivämäku 98, 16  
 ltna 78, 13  
 lekha 49, 21  
  
 valappa 11, 28  
 valjihita 67, 52  
 valjiheti 50, 66  
 vattinkäruka 98, 27  
 vattati 54, 59  
 valjihhi 88, 97  
 vasavutti 86, 9  
 vessabära 23, 74  
 vätarogu 56, 5  
 vätahädbä 37, 111  
 väripäri 48, 148; 68, 45; (79,  
     66, 67)  
 väseti 74, 218  
 väbu 68, 70  
 väbunu 74, 225  
 vähini 72, 235, 295  
 vijumbhuti 90, 71  
 vijanika 88, 97  
 vidhunita 67, 96  
 vibhutta 71, 21  
 vimäna 72, 223; 73, 107  
 vilivakärska 88, 105  
 visodheti 38, 53  
 vedäröga 62, 33  
 vedikü 27, 10; 73, 88; 76, 117.  
     Cf. M. tr. p. 296  
 vessa 76, 264  
 vopanämika 67, 45  
 työllia 69, 20  
  
 sangrambhä 72, 18  
 sampkhuta, sampkhura 4, 66  
 sampkhyä 89, 4  
 sampaha 91, 27  
 sampgalavatthuṇi (the four)  
     37, 108; (41, 56)  
 saccakiriyä 18, 39; 25, 16;  
     (51, 56); 70, 209; 82, 16  
 saññavaṇḍi 37, 150  
 saññigama 67, 88  
 saññikata 73, 67  
 santi 73, 71; 85, 50  
 sapulihibheda 70, 168  
 sannira 89, 16; 74, 201  
 samuṇi 50, 21  
 samattha with gen. 48, 20  
 samavatti 42, 3  
 samäpatti 5, 123  
 sami 72, 9  
 saruya 1, 32, 62  
 sahavajihita 67, 52  
 sahojha 23, 11; 35, 11  
 sahukära 74, 223; 85, 48  
 saipudhunap 37, 203  
 sahifunala 61, 50  
 sāmavayera 89, 48  
 sāragundha 100, 196  
 salicea 82, 3  
 sikhämalha 63, 5  
 sivikäseottisala 10, 162  
 su\* before a finite verb 50, 27  
 sugaujhika 49, 31  
 sudhikara 84, 44  
 siiri 60, 19  
 sekha 8, 21  
 sogata 76, 11; 83, 57  
 sogela 85, 53  
 soñipatti, -panen 1, 23; (12,  
     21)

hammiya 88, 90, 118  
haraphuram 76, 114  
hassi 66, 56; 73, 117

hemavajjhā 38, 63  
homa 62, 63

## II. Names of Persons

Ajātasatru and successors 4, 10f.  
Alagakkonāra 91, 3, 9 N.  
Ajātshatru 76, 180 N., 181, 211  
Asoka (Dhammāsoka) 5, 19 ff.,  
11, 18; 38, 11 &c.  
Āryamuni 100, 95  
Udaya I. 49, 1, 5  
Upali 100, 71, 91, 117, 112  
Ukkūka 2, 115, 45, 38; 80, 82;  
87, 94  
Kūlāsoka 4, 31, 63; 5, 14  
Kuṭṭhaka 51, 88  
Kumāradāsa (and Kālidāsa) 41, 1  
Kulasekhara 76, 76, 80 N., —  
90, 17  
Kuravya 7, 11 ff.  
Koṭella 64, 3; 70, 56  
Gokurya 63, 34; 66, 35  
Caṇḍavajji 5, 120 ff.  
Cūvakka 5, 16; 64, 45  
Cittū 9, 1, 13 ff.  
Coṭakonāra 76, 145, 173, 180 N.,  
181  
Tondriya 76, 180 N., 181  
Dāsaka 5, 105 ff.  
Dighasanda(na) 15, 212; 38, 16  
Duyyodhana 64, 43  
Dussaria 64, 44  
Dhammākitti 84, 11  
Dhammāsoka see Asoka  
Dhammika 100, 65, 136 &c.  
Nandā 5, 15 ff.; 64, 15  
Narasiha 47, 4, 7 N.  
Nāla 60, 9  
Nigrodha 5, 37 ff.  
Patañjali 37, 217  
Panāda see Mahāpanāda  
Parakkamacamunāthā 80, 19,  
52  
Bimbisāra 2, 25 ff.  
Buddhaghosha 37, 215 ff., 224  
Bhaddajī 31, 7 ff.  
Mundhatar 2, 2; 37, 43; 81, 28  
Mahākassapa 3, 1; 5, 1; 78, 6  
Mahādhammākathī 37, 175  
Mahānāma 39, 42  
Mahāpanāda 2, 1; 31, 8; 37,  
62; 51, 9  
Mahāsāmīra 2, 1, 25; 47, 2;  
99, 77  
Mona, Mānaraksha 37, 4, 14, 25  
Moggaliputta 5, 95 ff.; 78, 6  
Rūma 64, 42; 68, 20; 73, 137;  
75, 59; 83, 16; 88, 69  
Rāraya 64, 12; 70, 59  
Vajiragga, Videsagga 61, 107;  
53, 46  
Varānāyamuni 100, 138, 174  
Visuddhīcariya 100, 137, 171,  
173

Vibhāradevi	22, 12, 20, 29; 24, 53	10; <b>55</b> , 73; <b>92</b> , 6. — <b>44</b> , 83;
Sagararājina	<b>87</b> , 34	<b>46</b> , 1; <b>59</b> , 10
Sāmavī	<b>59</b> , 21	Silūmegha-vṛutta <b>44</b> , 83 N.
Sarayōpaka	97, 51, 69; <b>98</b> , 23; <b>99</b> , 150 N.; 100, 49, 107	Sitā <b>78</b> , 1-7.
Siggava	5, 89, 129 II.	Sunetkī <b>91</b> , 21
Sirisūmghabhadra	<b>36</b> , 73 N.; <b>81</b> ,	Sopaka 5, 104
		Hanuman <b>73</b> , 161

### III. List of Passages

1, 4. — 3, 6, 7. — 4, 30, 45, 51, 62. — 5, 23, 61, 115, 216, 227, 262. — 7, 56 II. — 9, 8, 17, 23. — 11, 2, 5. — 12, 16, 55. — 13, 18, 19. — 15, 27 I., 59. — 17, 41. — 19, 10, 28. — 20, 22, 30, 37. — 21, 4 II. — 22, 17, 59, 67, 68. — 23, 11, 24, 37 I. — 24, 35, 18, 56. — 25, 89, 93. — 26, 23-5. — 27, 16. — 28, 28. — 29, 2, 58. — 30, 25, 42-50. — 31, 21, 26, 43, 53, 124. — 32, 31. — 33, 4, 42, 51, 98, 103. — 34, 27, 36. — 35, 13, 146-8. — 36, 26, 31, 102, 116, 124. — 37, 35, 66 II., 91, 100, 101, 114, 116, 129, 138, 159, 171, 184, 185 I., 200. — 38, 3, 8, 9, 21, 29, 35, 59, 60, 94, 96, 98, 110. — 39, 6, 11, 17, 23, 26, 27, 31, 42, 52, 53, 59. — 41, 9, 14, 66, 71, 73, 82, 89; 99, 103. — 42, 1, 15-6, 26, 28, 62, 66, 69. — 44, 7, 13, 21, 38, 41, 56, 69, 87, 88, 90, 106, 119, 123, 151. — 45, 30, 51, 56, 70, 75. — 46, 1, 82, 33. — 47, 2-3, 10, 40, 45. — 48, 8, 20, 25, 29, 31, 61, 72, 79, 91, 101, 104. — 49, 1, 2, 3, 9, 18, 23, 24, 27, 47, 52, 58, 61, 62, 71, 81, 83, 86, 93. — 50, 9, 27, 31, 52, 53, 58, 73, 74. — 51, 20, 56, 7, 98. — 52, 4, 12, 19, 22, 26, 29, 31, 32, 43, 46, 80. — 53, 7, 14. — 54, 9, 57, 59-60, 62, 68, 70-1. — 55, 16, 20. — 56, 16. — 57, 8, 9, 33. — 58, 15, 45, 56. — 59, 1, 2, 22, 32, 49. — 60, 11, 26, 30, 11, 84. — 61, 31, 36, 40, 53, 72. — 62, 10, 14, 65. — 63, 12-5. — 64, 3, 19, 22, 28, 40, 41-7, 53. — 66, 7, 12, 25, 17, 53, 56, 59, 62, 63, 66, 72, 78, 83, 86, 104, 109, 115, 116, 118-5, 150. — 67, 21, 44, 45, 46, 61, 65. — 68, 1-2, 25, 31. — 69, 20. — 70, 20, 42-4, 85, 92, 127, 128, 145,
---

181, 208, 289, 290, 292, 321, — 71, 10, 13-5, 32, — 72, 18, 28, 43, 58, 80, 91, 95, 101-2, 104, 106-7, 113, 122-8, 139, 140, 141-7, 152, 188, 205-14, 249, 211, 227-8, 236, 258, 318, — 73, 2-10, 12-22, 41, 57, 71-81, 95-112, 111, 121-35, 133, — 74, 22-35, 26, 55-66, 56, 61, 72-8, 79, 80, 82, 83, 96, 100, 105, 107, 129, 140, 142, 150, 165, 173, 178, 198-227, 199, 225, 228-31, 240, — 75, 19, 85, 88, 97, 120, 134-5, 143, 156, 179-82, — 76, 3, 8, 12, 18-9, 29, 31, 40, 55, 70-2, 87, 90, 98, 100, 112, 124, 130, 186, 192, 208-19, 212, — 77, 20-4, 52, 58, 81-5, 97, — 78, 2-4, 13, 52-4, 60, 62, 102, — 79, 27, — 80, 15, 33, 39, — 81, 2, 6, 19, 22, 26, — 82, 21, 33, 47, — 83, 1, 5-7, 8-9, 15-21, 33-4, 10, — 84, 14, 15, 38, 40, — 85, 1, 3-10, 1, 38, 12-51, 15, 82, — 86, 17, 22, — 87, 4, 19, 37, 39, 46, 50, — 88, 11, 86, 100, — 89, 4, 16-38, 20, 47-56, 68, — 90, 43, 46, 63, 68, 92, 104, 109, — 91, 9, 25, 27, — 92, 23-6, — 94, 31, — 95, 4, 14, — 96, 5, 19-20, — 97, 29, — 98, 14, 24, 26, 47-8, 61, 69, 73, — 99, 6-11, 11, 16, 43, 45, 46, 53, 55, 56, 60, 63, 101, 113, 163, 171, 175, 181, — 100, 1, 35, 18, 52, 71-4, 75, 102-7, 129, 137, 157, 162, 167, 215, 248, 268, 281, 295, — 101, 14,

#### IV. The Chronicle

**1) Composition** (CL C, ed. I, p. I II): **37, 51; 38, 50**, — **79, 81**, — **90, 102; 99, 76 ff.** — the author of the last portion contemporary with Kittisirirajasha **99, 53, 103, 105; 108, 228**, — — **2) Sources**: Different sources: **7, 13-5** and **9, 9-11; 73, 12 ff.** and **78, 6 ff.** — a new source? (the Robapa chronicle) **22, 1; 45, 17; 57, 3**; — **(47, 1; 81, 40)**, — **panhapotthakam** **32, 25**; traces of pt. dry numbers or lists of names **20, 17-28; 24, 12, 47; 26, 25; 27, 47; 32, 26 ff.; 38, 45 ff.; 60, 48 ff.; 79, 62 ff.; 82, 12 ff.; 92, 10-29; 100, 14, 200**; absence of a record **37, 16**, — annals kept at court **59, 7 ff.**, — — **3) Chronological dates**: **4, 1, 8; 5, 21 ff., 280; 20, 1 ff., 32, 10; 41, 27; 42, 11; 44, 11 ff., 153; 47, 15; 52, 78; 53, 11; 55, 22; 58, 10; 60, 5; 80, 32; 90, 108; 94, 15;**

92, 6; 94, 5, 18; 99, 2; 100, 59, 91, 282. — — 4) **Style and language** (cf. C. ed. I, p. XIV ff.). Alampāra: 18, 14, 68; 52, 42; 53, 15; 60, 11; 70, 292; 72, 51, 102, 144, 209, 255 f.; 314, 323, 326; 76, 160 f., 233, 311 f.; 80, 56 ff., 60; 82, 5, 16, 41, 44 ff.; 83, 13, 25, 38, 40, 42; 85, 12 ff., 35, 44 ff.; 88, 91, 121; 89, 2 ff.; 90, 31, 47, 49; 96, 20; 99, 4, 122; 100, 30, 31 &c. — Puns: 1, 13, 25; 5, 256; 9, 29; 14, 43; 15, 27; 17, 8 f.; 26, 6; 31, 56; 33, 65; 37, 115; 50, 65, 83; 51, 108; 67, 92; 72, 295, 315; 85, 87 f.; 90, 2 &c. Metrical licenses: 37, 135 a, b, 138 a, b; 62, 49 ed.; 65, 11 ed.; 66, 14 a, b; 67, 44 ed. See also C. ed. I, p. XIV ff.; 44, 11, 31, 44; 47, 55; 50, 10; 62, 60; 70, 262; 75, 26; 90, 109. — Loc. inst. of gen.: 38, 115. — Causative inst. of the simple root and the contrary: 48, 102; 70, 287; 75, 156 &c.; 47, 18; 48, 61; 75, 171 &c. — Simple verbe inst. of passive and the contrary: 44, 26; 59, 18; 51, 54; 76, 340 &c.; 79, 208. — Gerund inst. of Loc. abs.: 39, 26; 48, 79 N.; 77, 24 N.; 88, 67 ff. — Irregular compounds: 39, 59; 91, 6, 20; 99, 46. — Irregular construction of sentences: 41, 103; 49, 58; 72, 128, 249; 92, 17, 23–26; 96, 19–20; 99, 6 ff., 42 ff.; 100, 51 f. — Influence of the metre 74, 199; 75, 72. — Influence of Sinhalese 70, 85; 90, 101; 91, 36; 95, 8; 96, 17; 98, 1. — 5) **Literary references.** Indian epic literature 64, 12 ff.; 66, 113; cf. II, a. vr. Duyyodhana, Dussanta, Rāma, Ayurveda 73, 42; mīti literature 48, 80, 96; 65, 7; 64, 3; 66, 130 ff. (142); 70, 56; 73, 59; yuddhakarī 70, 50; the rāsa theory 66, 56; 72, 91, 205; 73, 117; 75, 89. — Canonical Pali literature: Quotation of a Buddha-word 73, 143; 99, 180 f. — Dhāmmasangīti, -saṅgaha 3, 17; 5, 270. — Tipiṭaka and Aṭṭhakathā: 5, 84, 375; 27, 44; 33, 100; 37, 223; 41, 58; 60, 6; 84, 3, 29; 90, 37, 83; 91, 27. — 84000 sections: 5, 78 (cf. 5, 173 ff.); 33, 132. — Navāṅgikā sūkṣma 89, 70. — Vinaya, dhamma, suttanta: 3, 30, 34; 5, 150 f.; 29, 56; 54, 44; 99, 90, 170, 173 f. — Nikāyā (the four) 33, 72; 99, 31, 33; 100, 117. — Saṭṭasamayutta 14, 58. — Abhidhamma: 5, 150; 37, 221; 44, 109; 51, 79; 52, 49 f. — Paritta texts: 37, 226; 51, 80;

99, 26. — Single subtopics: 5, 68; 12, 26, 29, 31, 34, 39, 41, 51; 14, 22, 39, 63; 15, 4, 176, 178, 186, 195, 197, 198; 16, 3; 37, 191, 195; 51, 79; 99, 26, 29, 154; 100, 275. — Single jātakas: 5, 264; 12, 37; 35, 30; 64, 41; 83, 33 f.; 97, 29-35; 99, 97; 100, 74, 254. — Peta-, Viññānavatthu: 14, 58. — Dhammasaṅgūpi: 37, 225; 52, 50; 69, 17. — Cittayamaka 5, 146. Kathāvatthu 5, 278. — Younger Pāli literature: 37, 93, 225, 236; 39, 49, 56; 91, 27; 97, 57, 59; 100, 118. — Sinhalese literature 37, 228, 233; 90, 78, 84; 98, 24. — **6) External confirmation or correction of the chronicle** (cf. M. tr., p. XV ff.). a) Sinhalese books. Siri-megharanya to Mahānīga: 37, 92, 105, 178, 208, 217; 38, 1, 8, 10, 15, 50, 112; 39, 58; 41, 1-5, 6, 26, 27, 37, 53, 63, 91, 102. — Aggabodhi I. to Dīphopatissa II: 42, 13, 15, 39, 40, 67, 68; 44, 1, 22, 63, 65, 82, 117, 144, 153; 45, 16, 35; 80. — Aggabodhi IV. to Aggabodhi IX: 46, 39, 41, 46; 47, 1, 66; 48, 19, 25, 38, 67, 74; 49, 37, 39, 42, 64, 82, 92. — Sena I. to Loka: 50, 1, 85; 51, 1, 26, 39, 134; 52, 36, 81; 53, 1, 4, 12, 27, 38, 51; 54, 1, 56, 72; 55, 31; 56, 6, 9, 12, 14, 16; 57, 1. — Vijayabāhu I. to Parakkamabāhu I: 60, 91; 62, 1; 63, 18, 19; 79, 86. — Vijayabāhu II. to Magha: 80, 14, 15, 26, 29; 80, 32, 33, 34, 42, 44, 45, 48, 51, 53, 79. — Vijayabāhu III. to Vijayabāhu IV.: 81, 19, 44, 51, 56, 58, 79; 82, 7; 83, 30-1, 37, 42; 84, 9, 24; 85, 1-4, 35, 99, 118; 86, 49-50; 87, 9; 88, 35; 89, 71; 90, 1. — Bhuvanekabāhu I. to Rajasīha II: 90, 4, 59, 63, 64, 105-6, 108; 91, 3, 32; 92, 1; 93, 16; 94, 2-3, 22; 95, 25; 96, 40. — **6) Ceylon inscriptions:** 37, 53; 39, 11. — 42, 3-8; 44, 98. — 46, 20, 29; 48, 24. — 50, 9, 45, 68, 70; 51, 12, 26, 74, 88, 90, 105, 134; 52, 1, 11, 13, 17, 33, 45, 58; 53, 4, 13; 54, 1, 7, 35, 48. — 58, 1, 56, 59; 59, 49; 60, 5, 16, 21, 36, 66, 91; 63, 19; 72, 300; 73, 20, 37; 76, 68; 78, 5, 6 ff. — 80, 1, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, 50. — 87, 16; 90, 108; 91, 1, 3, 16, 21; 92, 1. — **c) South Indian inscriptions:** Kassapa V: 52, 98. Dappula IV: 53, 9. Udaya IV: 53, 14. Mahinda V: 55, 22. Parakkamabāhu I: 76, 80; 77, 102. Parakkamabāhu II: 78, 103.

83, 52. Bhavanekabāhu I.: 90, 17. Bhavanekabāhu V, 91, 13, —  
6) Chinese Annals: Śrimeghaṇavāpa &c.: 37, 53, 175. Kas-  
sapa I: 39, 27. Aggubodhi VI: 48, 42. (Vijayabāhu VI):  
91, 14.

## V. The World

**A. Cosmology.** 1. Three worlds, hell and heaven: — 4, 38;  
34, 14; 37, 178; 44, 117; 60, 91; 72, 306; 90, 40; 92, 30;  
94, 21. — The moon and the tides 81, 44. — Regions of the  
heavens: 28, 13, 16, 18, 20, 36, 39; 31, 86; 63, 51; 72, 306,  
329; 74, 150; 96, 15; 96, 25. — 2. The earth: The dipas  
73, 8. — Meru (Śineru) 31, 53; 37, 79; 42, 2; 54, 43; 78, 24.  
— Cakravāla mountains 88, 116. — Udayācalu 72, 326. —  
Uttara Kuru 1, 18; 30, 58; 51, 50. — 3. Destruction of the  
world 70, 253; 72, 93, 313; 75, 29; 83, 47. — — **B) Geo-  
graphy and Ethnography.** 1. India. a) Geographical  
Names:

Anatatta-lake 1, 18. Aparantaka 12, 34.  
Ayojjha 56, 13. Avanti 4, 17.  
Ujjeni 5, 39; 13, 8, 10 (Dakkhinagiri-v, 13, 5; 29, 35).  
Uttaramaduburā 88, 121; 92, 25. Uruvelā 1, 12, 16 f., 43.  
Kāteipura 88, 121. Kaputeṭṭhi 47, 7.  
Kapilavatthu 2, 15; 89, 4. Kasmira 12, 9; 29, 37.  
Kāśipura see Bārūyasi.  
Kusātati 2, 6. Kusinārā 3, 2.  
Kusumapura see Pāpaliputta.  
Keliṇa 32, 53; 68, 1; 73, 62 &c.; 89, 45 (Keliśa-v, 29, 43).  
Kesavī 4, 17 (Ghositārāma 29, 34).  
Guṇḍa 5, 263; 8, 23; 11, 30 &c.  
Gaudhāra 12, 9. Giribhaja 5, 114. Gora 94, 1-2.  
Campaipuri 88, 121. Jetuttara 89, 2.  
Tamburāṭṭhi 84, 11. Tāmalitī 11, 23 N., 38; 19, 6.  
Tiriyaveli 76, 143, 288. Neṭṭāru 76, 189.  
Payūga 31, 6. Palañkotṭa 77, 58. Pallavabbhoga 29, 38.  
Pāpaliputta (Kusumapura, Pupphapura) 4, 31; 5, 49, 120;  
11, 24; 17, 10; 18, 8, 68; 92, 23 (Asokārāma 5, 80,  
163; 174; 29, 36).

Pāvā 4, 17.  
 Pupphapura see Pāṭaliputta.  
 Bārūṇaśi (Kāśipura) 1, 14; 41, 37; 88, 121 (Isipatana-v. 29, 31).  
 Bodhimapla 29, 41; 37, 215; 39, 47.  
 Madda 8, 7.  
 Madhurā (dakkhiṇā M.) 7, 49, 51; 50, 12 N.; 76, 76; 96, 40;  
     97, 2, 24; 98, 4 (cf. also Uttararamadhurā).  
 Maloya 76, 195.    Mahāraṭṭha 12, 37.  
 Mahisamāṇḍala 12, 29.  
 Mithilā 2, 6; 83, 34; 88, 121.  
 Rājagaha 2, 6; 29, 30; 39, 3 (Veluvana-v. 15, 17).  
 Rūmīsara 76, 97.    Lālārattha 6, 5, 36; 7, 3.  
 Vaṇga 6, 1.    Vāsavāda 12, 31; 29, 42.  
 Viñjhāṇī 19, 6; 29, 40.  
 Viśālā, Vesali 4, 9, 22; 88, 121; 99, 98 (Mahāvana-v. 4, 12;  
     29, 31).  
 Sarakassa 89, 4.    Sāketa 89, 3.    Sāgala 89, 2.  
 Sāvatthi 88, 121 (Jetavana-v. 1, 44; 29, 32).  
 Sivalipattīrū 77, 41.  
 Sibapura 6, 35; 59, 46.  
 Sunsumāragiri 89, 3.    Soreyya 4, 21.    Hinavant 12, 41.

b) Names of tribes or castes.

Ariya 61, 36; 63, 15.    Āriya 90, 16 ff.  
 Kaṇṇaṭī 55, 12.    Kallara 76, 246.  
 Kāliṅgā 6, 1; 37, 92; 42, 44 &c.  
 Kāś 5, 114.    Keraṭā 53, 9.    Koṭīrā 31, 18.  
 Coṭā 21, 18; 36, 112; 52, 70 &c.  
 Daṇḍī 1, 41; 21, 10 &c.; 38, 11 f. &c.  
 Pāṇḍī 7, 50, 69; 50, 12; 76, 76 &c.  
 Maravāṇī 76, 130, 246, 250.    Yādhava 76, 163.  
 Yona, Yavāna 10, 90; 12, 34, 39; 76, 264.  
 Liṭṭhabā 99, 98.    Vaṇga 6, 1.    Vajji 4, 9 ff.  
 Vallabha 47, 15, 18, 24; 54, 12 ff.  
 Sakya 2, 15 ff.; 8, 18.

## 2. Farther India

### a) Geographical names, names of tribes

Ayojha 98, 91; 100, 60. Arimaddana 76, 38.  
 Kamboja 76, 21. Kākādipa 76, 57.  
 Kusumitthā 76, 59.  
 Jāvakā 83, 36 ff.; 88, 63; 99, 118.  
 Pegu 98, 89. Malaya 76, 22.  
 Rakkhāga 94, 15; 97, 10; 98, 89; 99, 25.  
 Kāmāhā 58, 8; 60, 5; 76, 10-69.  
 Sāmīndavasaya 93, 78; 100, 63 &c.

## 3. Ceylon

### a) Physical character, climate &c.

The ocean: 22, 49, 85; 41, 79; 57, 5; 71, 18; 72, 235; 85, 44 ff.; 88, 20. — Wilderness, swamps, forests, rocks: 33, 48; 39, 2; 61, 46; 66, 51; 68, 10; 70, 2 ff., 84; 81, 3, 5, 33; 86, 9; 87, 26; 95, 9. — Irregular rain: 21, 27; 70, 208. — Drought and famine: 32, 29; 36, 20, 74; 37, 189; 87, 1 ff.; 90, 43. — Wind, thunderstorms: 57, 56; 72, 3; 74, 228 ff.; 87, 7 ff. — Earthquake (as a miracle): 5, 239 ff.; 15, 26, 194; 17, 55; 18, 50; 19, 47; 29, 62; 31, 110.

### b) Products of the island (or imported)

#### 1. Minerals:

Jewels (māpi, three kinds 11, 22) 28, 18, 40; 61, 6, 56; 62, 33; 64, 32; 68, 12; 72, 326; 97, 50; 98, 33, 95; 99, 165; 100, 16 ff.; and precious stones (ratana, seven or nine kinds) 27, 37; 91, 18; 97, 7) 11, 8 ff., 16; 22, 60; 31, 60; 34, 73; 66, 44; 69, 36; 80, 41; 90, 71; 97, 17. — Beryl (veluriya) 11, 16; diamond (vajrī) 100, 15; ruby (kutuvinda, rattamāpi, lokitānka) 28, 19; 100, 18; 11, 16; sapphire (indamīla, uppala, nilamāpi) 11, 16; 28, 19; 100, 17; topaz (puppharūga) 100, 17. — Pearls (eight kinds 11, 14) 11, 16, 22; 28, 36; 34, 47 ff.; 61, 6, 56; 62, 33; 64, 32; 70, 92; 89, 19; 97, 47; 98, 33, 95;

100. 19. — Gold 11. 31; 22. 64; 27. 33; 28. 14; 29. 57; 33. 11; 61. 57; 86. 139; 68. 12; 89. 19 ff.; 91. 18; 97. 17, 53; 98. 44, 75, 94; 99. 54, 165; 100. 30, 72, 75, 241. — Silver 27. 27, 33; 28. 20, 33; 29. 57; 89. 20 ff.; 90. 71; 97. 18; 98. 44, 75; 99. 55, 165. — Copper (loha, tambaloha) 23. 87; 27. 42; 28. 16; 31. 85; 36. 31. — Iron (nya) 23. 87; 98. 69. — Rock-crystal (phalika) 27. 36; 29. 9. — Medavāṇṇapāṇāśāpa 1. 39; 30. 57, 59; 31. 121. — Yellow orpiment (haritila) 34. 52. — Cinnabar (kuruvinda?) 29. 8. — kankutṭha, kind of earth 32. 6. — Red arsenic (manosila) 15. 80, 114, 149; 29. 12; 34. 52. — Vermilion (hiṅguli) 27. 18. — Corals (parāla) 27. 26, 31; 28. 37 f. &c. — Shells (snikhā) 71. 25; s. dakkhiṇāvalī 11. 22, 30; 100. 154.

## 2. Trees and shrubs; fruits, flowers

Akkha (terminalia belerica) 32. 29. amba (mangifera indica) 14. 17 ff.; 15. 28; 22. 4 f.; 79. 3, 85; 100. 4, 218. asava (terminalia alata tomentosa) 23. 87. asoka (jonesia asoka) 70. 98. āñāti-creeper 17. 31. āñalaka (emblica officinalis) 5. 26; 11. 31; 28. 36; 54. 23. udumbara (ficus glomerata) 15. 112; 23. 87. kap(ū)ikñā (pterospermum acerifolium) 73. 123; 100. 1. kadali (musa sapientum) M. ed. p. 311, v. 5; 70. 211; 72. 318; 73. 123; 75. 61; 85. 36, 114; 98. 41; 100. 90. kadamba (nauclea endambe) 73. 98. kadambapupphā 17. 31; 19. 73, 75; 25. 48; 33. 85; 35. 104, 116. kapīttha (feronia elephantum) 29. 11. kamuka (areca palm) 98. 41. kuṭaja (wrightia anti-dysenterica) 73. 99. ketuka (pandanus odoratissimus) 33. 50; 73. 98; 100. 1. khajjūra (phoenix silvestris) 100. 6. khunapatti (teckon grandis) 32. 5. cumpaka (michelia champaca) 73. 98; 98. 59; 100. 1, 197. jambū (eugenia jambu) 36. 71 ff.; 73. 98; 100. 4. tamūla (xanthochymus pictorius) 73. 99. tāla (palmyra palm) 10. 59; 23. 46, 59; 73. 123; 79. 3. timbarū-saka (the tinduka tree) 100. 5. tilaka (?) 73. 98. dāñjīta (pomegranate) 100. 5. nāga (iron-wood tree) 73. 98, 123; 85. 34; 89. 13; 100. 1, 293. nārangi (orange) 100. 5. nālikera (coconut) 23. 59; 61. 65; 73. 99; 74. 204; 79. 3; 86.

5, 17, 45; 97, 34; 98, 41; 100, 5, 218 (the shell 57, 8). *nigrodha* (*lucus indica*) 10, 35 f., 89; 15, 147. *nipa* (*nauclea cadamba*) 73, 98. *panasit* (*artocarpus integrifolia*) 28, 23; 79, 3; 85, 36; 86, 50; 100, 4, 218. *picula* (*tamarix indica*) 15, 28. *punnāga* (*coccinia tinctoria*) 73, 98, 123; 89, 4 f.; 100, 1, 293. *pūga* (*areca palm*) 36, 47; 79, 3; 100, 3, 293. *phānsa* (?) 100, 4. *bodhirukkha* (*lucus religiosa*) see VIII, C, 3. - *madhu*, -*uka* (*bassia latifolia*) 34, 56; 44, 18; 83, 18. *mupdaka* (?) 100, 5. *mūldikī* (grape) 100, 6. *raimbā* (*musa sapientum*) 100, 4. *rājāyatnā* (*buchananian latifolia*) 1, 52, 54, 67 f. *lau*-*ja* (*artocarpus incisa*) 80, 37; 94, 11 f. *vakula* (*minuusops elongi*) 73, 99. *vāṭa* (*lucus indica*) 6, 16. *sattapāṇḍa* (*alstonia scholaris*) 30, 47. *sunnira* (king coconut tree) 74, 204; 100, 5, 26. *sīla* (*shorea robusta*) 3, 2; 5, 161; 73, 98. *sirisa* (*acacia sissoa*) 15, 78. *haritaka* (*terminalia chebula*) 5, 26; 11, 31. *hītūla* (kind of palm tree) 73, 199. — Bamboo (*reñū*) 11, 10; 70, 213. sugar-cane, sugar, molasses 34, 62; 35, 92; 61, 53; 89, 53; 100, 196. sandal-wood 11, 28; 58, 9; 61, 57; 100, 2, 196. aloe (agaru) 61, 57; 100, 2. betel (tambula) 35, 62; 54, 22, 46; 100, 3, 196. garlic (lasuna) 64, 22 f. pepper (marica, pippali) 25, 114; 54, 23. ginger (singivera) 28, 21; 54, 23. saffron (piyāṅgu) 24, 25. — camphor (kappūra) 58, 9; 61, 57; 69, 24; 89, 43; 100, 3, 196. liquorice (yaṭṭhimadhuka) 32, 46. — Bean (*mūṣa*) 23, 51. sesame (*tila*) 29, 12; 34, 56. — Cotton 57, 56; 72, 3; 80, 16. — Lūja 98, 46; 100, 31. *pāpāli* (*bignonia sumveolens*) 73, 98. *guoṭhipuppli* 30, 59. jasmin 15, 27; 29, 61; 30, 27; 73, 99; 98, 8; 100, 1. lotus 19, 18; 22, 45, 53; 34, 47, 53 f.; 73, 102; 88, 113; 100, 1, 30 (the stalk: *osulāli* 7, 12).

### 3. Animals

Elephant, wild or domesticated 7, 56; 18, 28; 23, 8, 17, 49; 29, 1; 37, 112; 41, 23, 47 f.; 47, 9; 51, 37, 43, 112 f.; 61, 6; 70, 219, 229, 265; 72, 3, 88, 155, 314, 325; 76, 18, 70; 89, 22; 96, 26; 99, 16 and peacock. young obs. 62, 22, 25. cutting obs. 66, 150; 72, 321; 74, 63; 83, 13. solitary obs. 72, 218; 76, 244. catching wild obs. 72, 105. el.-trainer and driver

22, 64; 88, 34. *hatthisāla* 14, 62; 15, 1. *ñjunka* 19, 73; 35, 24. *sivigeha* "canopy on an el.'s back" 99, 55, 59. el.-trade 76, 17-34. white el.s 62, 21. six-tusked race 22, 61. *mangalabhairavi* see below V, B, 3. (danta "ivory" 27, 32, 35; 37, 100 ff.) — Horse 7, 56; 70, 127, 265; 72, 315; 74, 221; 76, 112; 86, 113; 88, 31, 71; 92, 29; 99, 46 &c. h. s among the *Damijas* 76, 100. horse dealing (sindhu-h.) 21, 10; 23, 71; 31, 38. — Buffalo, wild or domesticated 23, 79; 67, 2; 86, 24; 90, 76; 92, 29 (*māhisa-camma* 25, 36). Lion, not indigenous 6, 5; 27, 30; 60, 40; 66, 90, 104; 67, 6, 48; 70, 24, 141, 219; 72, 3, 68, 88, 108, 152, 155, 221; 83, 13; 96, 5 (*migarañja* 96, 20). Tiger, not indigenous 27, 30. panther 73, 39. bear 6, 31; 67, 41. boar 10, 4; 23, 66; 64, 32; 67, 44; 83, 18. elk (gokapya) 14, 3; 23, 60; 70, 36. deer or antelope (miga, haripa) 6, 154 ff.; 23, 68; 54, 32; 66, 90; 67, 48; 72, 68; 75, 39. monkey 54, 32; 68, 20; 87, 20. hare 23, 65. mouse 6, 30. cow 90, 76; 92, 29. bullock (usabha) 60, 74. dog 28, 9, 41; 36, 44; 54, 32; 60, 74 (bitch: *ugrī* 7, 9). yak-cow, not indigenous (*camari*) 98, 14; 100, 31. — Vulture 75, 114. crane 98, 43. peacock 57, 7; 73, 101; 74, 229. crow 60, 74; 75, 114. parrot 5, 29. cuckoo 73, 101. gnose 39, 65; 35, 97; 73, 131. *kalanda* 37, 204. *karavika* 5, 32. (birds in cages 70, 292; 72, 209). — Glow-worm 75, 29; 83, 25; 86, 22. bee 5, 31; 34, 52; 73, 97. moth (*paljūga*) 75, 41. — Crocodile 70, 4. iguana 28, 9 f. tortoise 75, 58. — Fish 75, 58; 88, 113. — Snakes (*nāga*) 6, 161; 37, 112 ff. (sappa) 21, 19. (*deñjubha*) 37, 122. (*ghoravisa*) 93, 8.

### c) Geographical and ethnographical names

#### 1. Names of the Island

*Sihala*, *Lañka* *passim*. — Prehistoric names 15, 59, 93, 127. — *Tambapanni* 7, 41; 80, 25; 85, 106; 89, 57. — *Tiñhala* 81, 46; 82, 1; 87, 25, 71; 88, 65.

2. Names of provinces (rāṭṭha) and districts (mūḍala)  
(18 provinces: 86, 11)

Ajñasabassaka 61, 21; 76, 15 Ambavana 66, 85; 69, 9 Ajisira 60, 14; 70, 106 Uttarāraṭṭha 70, 92 Uvaraṭṭha (see Hüva) 95, 22 Brāhmaṇa 74, 91 Kantakapelaka 69, 9 Kalyāṇi 1, 63; 74; 22, 12 ff.; 61, 35 Kālagirībhāṇḍa 72, 62 Kirinda 74, 97 Kurundi 83, 16; 88, 64 Giribū 69, 9 Girimajjala 51, 111 Guttasālā 61, 12; 74, 15 Janapuda 44, 56; 66, 110 Tabhā 69, 9 Dakkhinadesa 38, 24; 41, 35; 42, 8 &c. Dighavāpi 74, 69, 180; 75, 1; 96, 23 Dighāli 72, 63; 75, 60 Dumbara 70, 9 Dvādaśasalassaka 61, 22; 75, 156 N. Dhanumajjala 74, 166 Navayojanarāṭṭha 72, 61; 75, 72 Nāgadipa 1, 47; 20, 25; 42, 62 Nilagullaka 70, 14 Pātacayojanarāṭṭha 57, 71; 72, 57; 75, 21; 85, 81 Pātacataraṭṭha 95, 9 Pātacuddharāṭṭha 94, 4; 95, 24 f.; 96, 17	Pātiṭṭhārāṭṭha 55, 22 N.; 81, 15 N.; 88, 87 Padi 83, 16; 88, 64 Pillavīṭṭhi 69, 8 Poratthimadesa 41, 33 Buddhagamarāṭṭha 69, 9 Bodhīgūmarāṭṭha 69, 9 Mūjjhimavagga 70, 20 Malaya 7, 68; 24, 7; 25, 5; 41, 10 &c. Mahākhetta 72, 63; 70, 50 Mahatīla 66, 71 Mahathala 48, 3 Mahāraṭṭha 72, 141, 163, 190 Miyūraṭṭha 81, 15; 87, 24 Merukandara 41, 19; 70, 282 Mocarāpi 69, 8 Ratnākaraṭṭha 42, 18; 69, 31 Ratnākaraṇīṭṭha 68, 23 Rājāraṭṭha 52, 1; 55, 22; 61, 30 Rohaṇa 22, 6, 8; 35, 27 f.; 38, 12 &c. Laṅkāgiri 70, 88 Lokagalla 74, 79 Sapaṇ(gamu) 78, 8; 94, 12 Srāmbavana 70, 87 Hüvaraṭṭha (see Üra) 60, 66
--	--

3. Towns and villages

Aṅgamu 70, 130  
 Anurādhapura 10, 76, 106  
     and *passim*  
 Antumvitṭhi 60, 68; 61, 46  
 Ambaggūna 86, 23

Ambavama 66, 85  
 Ālīgūma 70, 112  
 Uddhanadvāra 61, 16  
 Upatissaagūma 7, 44  
 Ullapanaggāma 86, 23  
 Kadaliyāma 60, 66  
 Kadalinivāta 44, 6; 48, 50  
 Kammāragāma 73, 47  
 Kalahanagara 10, 42  
 Kalyāṇī 72, 151  
 Kājaragāma 19, 51; 45, 45  
 Kālagulaka 90, 9  
 Kālagiribhuyya 72, 62  
 Kalatitttha 56, 12; 86, 41  
 Kugdāsāla 97, 44  
 Kumbagāma 70, 149  
 Kotja see Jayarajādhārakotja  
 Kotthasāra 61, 43; 74, 44  
 Konduruva 72, 231  
 Kolambu(tittha) 94, 1; 95, 4, 15  
 Kolambhālaka 25, 80; 33, 42  
 Khīragūma 74, 164; 79, 71  
 Gaṅgāśiripura 86, 18; 88, 48  
 Gimbatitttha 73, 22  
 Gilimalaya 60, 65  
 Guttasāla 24, 17; 51, 103  
 Jayarajādhārakotja 91, 7  
 Jambukola (= Dumbul) 70, 72; 72, 136  
 Jambukola (harbour) 11, 23; 18, 7  
 Jambuddogi 81, 29; 85, 4  
 Tambagāma 70, 90  
 Taṭṭathala 70, 107  
 Titthagāma 90, 88  
 Tilagulla 58, 43  
 Demājavala 74, 130  
 Devanagara 56, 6; 60, 50; 75, 47  
 Dogivagga 75, 69  
 Dvīramatīdala 10, 1; 23, 23  
 Dhanapitīhi 46, 41  
 Dhanavillika 70, 15  
 Nandigāma 25, 14; 38, 14  
 Nālendā 70, 167  
 Nilavālatittha 75, 18  
 Parakkamapura 72, 151; 74, 15  
 Poñkhagūma 61, 26  
 Pukathinagara 41, 122; 46, 34  
     and *passim* (three suburbs  
     of P. 73, 151 ff.; 78, 79 ff.).  
 Perūdoyi 91, 2  
 Bakagalla 70, 121  
 Badalattthala, -lī (58, 43; 66, 43 N.)  
 Buddhangāma 58, 18; 66, 19  
 Bubbola 70, 99  
 Bodhigāmavara 66, 78  
 Blūmetittha 85, 81; 86, 40  
 Mahālabegāma 67, 52  
 Mūjhimagāma 74, 83  
 Mupjagnila 58, 43  
 Muṇḍagāma 45, 47  
 Monūra 61, 79  
 Mallavājāna 70, 61  
 Mahāgulla 44, 3  
 Mahāgāma 22, 8; 45, 42  
 Mahūtitttha 7, 58; 48, 81; 61, 28  
 Mahānāgakula 58, 39; 60, 90  
 Mahāvūlakagāma 70, 36, 45  
 Mālāvaratthali 70, 68, 157  
 Muttūkara 70, 63  
 Rakkhapūtūpa 57, 67  
 Ratnagāma 42, 18  
 Rāmuccluvallika 70, 11, 14 N.

Labajagāma 94, 12  
 Lābugāma 10, 72  
 Vattalagāma 81, 48  
 Vālikūkhettu 70, 62  
 Vikkunapura 72, 147  
 Vijitapura 7, 45; 25, 19 ff.  
 Sarakha(natha)ithali 63, 43;  
     64, 22  
 Saraggāma 66, 71  
 Sarogāma 71, 18  
 Sahodera 74, 78, 79 N.  
 Sākhanpatta 74, 166  
 Sāligiri 90, 97  
 Saputtagāma 74, 131, 166 N.  
 Siriyala 66, 20  
 Sirivajjhana(pnearJambuddagī)  
     85, 1  
 Sirivajjhana == Kandy 92, 7;  
     94, 6, 16  
 Sitāvaka 93, 2 N., 5  
 Strātātthali 75, 101  
 Sihagiri 39, 2 ff.  
 Suvarṇamalaya 75, 62  
 Sūkarālibberipāśā 16, 98  
 Senkhapūjāselasirivajjhana 92, 5  
 Hatthigiriपुरा, -selapura 85;  
     62; 99, 77  
 Hinthalavānagāma 74, 162; 75, 7  
 Huyalagāma 75, 149

4. Mountains

(p. = pabbata, g. = giri)

Ariṭṭha-p. 10, 61; 44, 86  
 Kāsa-p. 10, 27; 25, 50  
 Gopāla-rock 78, 65  
 Govindamala(-sela) 81, 5

Cetiyan-p. 16, 1; 17, 23; 38, 75 &c.  
 Dola-p. 10, 44 (cf. M. tr., p. 289)  
 Dohaja-p. 44, 56; 100, 291  
 Dhūmarakkha-p. 10, 46; 37;  
     213 (cf. C. tr. I, p. 253, 3)  
 Panjali-p. 32, 14  
 Pāṇḍita-p. 58, 18  
 Pācīnatissa-p. 41, 14; 44, 14  
 Billasela 81, 33  
 Mārupabbata 48, 129  
 Missaka-p. 13, 14, 20; 17, 23  
 Luñkā-p. 66, 80  
 Vāta-g. 58, 31; 88, 43  
 Samantakūja, Sumanak. 1, 33;  
     77; 7, 67; 60, 64; 92, 17;  
     97, 16 ff.  
 Suidevinaga 66, 19  
 Sīlakūja (Missaka) 13, 20  
 Subhūtikūja (Missaka) 15, 131  
 Subhū-p., Sundara-p. 81, 31;  
     88, 26, 61 ff.  
 Samantakūja see Samantakūja  
 Sūpa-g. 34, 4.

5. Rivers, fords

(g. == gaṅgā, n. == nadi)

Kacchukatitha 10, 58; 23, 17;  
     37, 21 ff. N.  
 Kāsha-n. 53, 29  
 Kadamba-n. 7, 13; 15, 16; 41, 61  
 Karinda-n. 32, 14  
 Killa-n. 86, 40, 44  
 Kūlavāpi-n. 70, 126 f.  
 Kumbhilavāpi-n. 68, 132  
 Gaṅgā see Mahāvāluka-g.  
 Gambhir-n. 7, 44; 28, 7

Gālu-p. 75, 34  
 Gāha-g. 48, 132  
 Gokappa see Mahāvāluṅkag.  
 Gopā-n. 35, 13, 113  
 Jajjara-n. 68, 16; 79, 67  
 Mahā-n. 51, 121  
 Mahārukkhātītha 72, 11  
 Mahāvāluṅka-g. (Gāṅgā) 10, 44,  
 47; 21, 7; 38, 12; 71, 17 &c.  
 (Gokappa 41, 79; 71, 18)  
 Mālāgāmatītha 72, 50  
 Yakkhasūkaratītha 72, 21  
 Vana-n. 75, 156  
 Saṅkhavajjhāmānakā-n. 68, 32  
 Sahassatītha 87, 71  
 Indian river-names conferred  
 on Ceylonese canals 79, 57 N.

#### 6. Tanks (v. = vāpi)

Abhaya-v. 10, 84  
 Ambāla-v. 68, 49 N.  
 Karavīṭhavilātta-v. 68, 49 N.  
 Kala-v. 38, 12 &c.  
 Kira-v. 68, 49 N.  
 Gaṅgātāṭaka 70, 286  
 Giritaṭaka 70, 312; 72, 149  
 Giriḥu-v. 68, 49 N.  
 Giriya-v. 68, 49 N.  
 Tintigāmaka-v. 68, 49 N.  
 Tilagulinka-v. 68, 49 N.  
 Tissa-v. 20, 20 &c.; 70, 149  
 Dīghe-v. 1, 78; 74, 89 &c.  
 Dūratissa-v. 33, 9; 49, 8; 79, 32  
 Nagasenḍi 42, 28 (14, 36; 16, 6)  
 Paṇḍu-v. 60, 48; 68, 39  
 Padi-v. 79, 34

Parakkamū-sāntudha, -sāgara  
 68, 40; 79, 26, 28, 40  
 Buddhangāmakanījhara 68,  
 49 N.  
 Mapihāra-v. 37, 47; 42, 34  
 Maṇḍikā-v. 68, 49 N.  
 Mahākirīla-v. 68, 49 N.  
 Mahūgalla-v. 44, 5  
 Mahindutāṭa-v. 42, 29; 79, 28  
 Mora-v. 69, 8; 72, 177  
 Ruttamāluṅkagā-v. 37, 18  
 Viśā-v. 68, 49 N.  
 Suvaṇṇatissa-v. 79, 32  
 Sūkaraggāma-v. 68, 49 N.

#### Monasteries and Monastic buildings

(vih. = vihāra, pariv. = parī-  
 vaya, c. = cetiya; A. = Anu-  
 radhāpura, P. = Polatthi-  
 gara, M. = Mahāgāma)

Abhayagiri-vih. in A. (different  
 names) 33, 81 ff.; 35, 120;  
 37, 59; 52, 10; 78, 21, —  
 37, 97, 123; 44, 96; 53, 13;  
 — 41, 96; 50, 79, — 42,  
 28, 63; 50, 26, — 48, 135  
 Ambatthala-c. 13, 20; 31, 69  
 Ākāsa-c. 22, 26  
 Ājūlanna-pariv. 78, 48  
 Āloka-lena 98, 65  
 Issuenusumaya-vih. 19, 61; 20, 14;  
 39, 10  
 Uttarārāma in P. 78, 73  
 Udumbaragiri-vih. 78, 5 N.  
 Kuntakū-c. 16, 12

Kappūra-pariv. in A. 46, 29; 46, 21

Kalyāṇī-c. and -vih. 1475; 81, 59

Kassapagiri-vih. 44, 98

Kālavāpi-vih. 38, 50 N.

Kūṭatissa-vih. 51, 74

Gaṇḍālakṣaṇī-vih. 91, 30

Gāṇḍhārakāra-pariv. 37, 241; 52, 57

Catuvihāra in A. 53, 37; 54, 5

Candagiri-vih. in M. 60, 61

Cittalapabbata-vih. 22, 23; 24, 9; 45, 59

Cūlagolla-vih. 35, 13; 42, 49

Cetiyapabbata-vih. 19, 62; 20, 17

Cetiyas of Mahindā and Saṃghamitṭa in A. 20, 11, 53; 38, 58

Jambukola-vih. 20, 25; 60, 69

Jambukolalena 60, 69; 80, 29

Jetavana-vih. in A. (37, 59 N.) 37, 55, (65); 41, 10; 78, 21 &c. — in P. 78, 32 ff.

Jetivana-vih. 37, 55, 52, 59 — Jetavana in A.

Tissa(mabū)-vih. in M. 20, 25; 22, 23; 45, 59

Tissārāma 52, 24

Thūpārāma in A. 1, 82; 17, 30 &c.; 37, 207 &c. — in P. or M. 60, 56

Dakkhiṇa-vih. in A. 33, 88; 42, 14; 44, 140

Dakkhiṇāgiri-vih. 33, 7; 38, 50 N.; 42, 25; 52, 60

Dappalapabbata-vih. 49, 1 N., 30; 50, 80

Dūḍhaggabodhi-pariv. in M. 45, 42

Dūḍhāḍhūtughara in A. 37, 95. — in P. 73, 128 ff.; 74, 198; 78, 11; 87, 69; 89, 40; 99, 55. — in Jambuddoṇi 81, 34; 82, 9; 86, 91; 88, 12 ff. — in Subbagiri 90, 46 N. — in Hatthigiriipura 90, 66 ff. — in Kotte 91, 17. — in Kandy 94, 14; 97, 5, 37; 98, 35; 99, 14

Dīghasundu-pariv. 15, 212; 38, 16

Devanagara-vih. 60, 63 N.

Nāga-vih. 22, 9; 45, 58

Nipannapajīmāgohā, Nisinnapajīmālēna in P. 78, 75

Pacchimārāma in P. 78, 70

Paṭhamma-c. in A. 14, 45; 19, 61; 38, 9

Pavājavāpi-vih. 60, 63 N.

Pappaṭa-vih. 91, 21

Pupphārāma 100, 86, 111.

Buddhaśāmāpāsāda, uposathā-house in P. 78, 55 ff.

Bilasala-vih. 85, 59

Bhāṇḍikā-pariv. 52, 58

Bhūmatittha-vih. 85, 81; 86, 16

Macchatittha-vih. 48, 24

Mayikārā-vih. 37, 40

Mugulagiri-vih. 46, 29; 60, 63 N.; 71, 3

Madhutthala-vih. 60, 63 N.

<p>Mayūra-pariv. (Morn.) in A. 37, 172; 38, 52</p> <p>Maricavatī-vih. in A. 26, 8 ff.; 44, 149 &amp;c.</p> <p>Mahāthūpa in A. (different names) 15, 51; 28, 3 ff.; 42, 32; 76, 108 &amp;c. — 20, 19; 33, 21. — 15, 167; 61, 82. — 80, 68</p> <p>Mahāparit. in A. 42, 26; 48, 65</p> <p>Mahāpāli in A. 20, 23; 37, 181. — in M. 45, 42</p> <p>Mahā-vih. in A. 15, 8 ff., 214; 37, 4 ff., 54 &amp;c.</p> <p>Mahiyangaja-c. and -vih. 1, 24, 42; 26, 7; 36, 34, 58; 51, 74; 92, 16 &amp;c.</p> <p>Mājambiya 46, 19</p> <p>Yatthulāya-vih. in M. 22, 7</p> <p>Rajatulena-vih. 28, 20 N., 35, 4; 99, 41; 100, 237 ff.</p> <p>Rajapāsāda in A. 36, 7; 48, 135 &amp;c.</p> <p>Ratnāvali-c. in P. 80, 20 (78, 51 N.). — in Khiragama 79, 71</p>	<p>Rohaya-vih. 46, 54</p> <p>Lankātilaka in P. 78, 53 ff. — near Kandy 91, 30</p> <p>Lohapāsāda in A. 27, 20 ff.; 37, 59 &amp;c.</p> <p>Vijādhara-cave in P. 78, 66, 74</p> <p>Veheravān-vih. 42, 43; 44, 29</p> <p>Vessagiri-vih. near A. 20, 15, 20; 39, 11 N.</p> <p>Silū-c. in A. 1, 82</p> <p>Silōsobhakagajaka-c. in A. 33, 87</p> <p>Sotthiyūkara-vih. in A. 37, 82, 84</p> <p>Hathavanagalla-vih. 85, 74 ff.; 86, 12, 37</p>
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Names of tribes &c.

<p>Polinda 7, 68</p> <p>Vaanti 81, 11; 83, 10 &amp;c.</p> <p>Sinhālē <i>passim</i></p> <p>Clan names in C. 19, 2 N.; 38, 13 N.</p> <p>(Purnagī 95, 5; 98, 80)</p> <p>(Olāndā 96, 26; 98, 89; 99, 109)</p>
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## VI. King and Kingdom

### A. The king and the royal family

Cf. C. tr. I, Introd. p. XV ff.

1. The king (rājā, mahārāja, mahipati, narapati &c. &c. *passim*). — a. Sun- and Moon-dynasty 62, 5; 63, 11; 72, 121; 87, 29; 91, 16; 93, 2; 94, 1; 96, 41. Mahāśāradatta as ancestor 2, 1, 23; 47, 2; 99, 77. Okhāka 2, 11 ff.; 45, 38; 80, 32. — b. Bodily marks of a king 22, 59; 48, 114; 57, 49; 59, 34 ff.; 62, 16 ff.; 87, 62. anukāvati 100, 35. — c. Abhiseka (molimāṅgala) 7, 46 ff.; 72; 9, 20; 10, 78; 36, 123; 46, 3 ff.; 59, 2, 8; 67, 16; 72, 312 ff.; 87, 70; 89, 5 ff.; 90, 61; 94, 16. abh- performed twice 11, 7 and 40 ff.; 71, 19 ff. and 72, 311 ff. — d. The king assumes a new name 36, 98; 44, 128; 45, 22; 58, 1; 91, 6. the biruda Sirisāupaghābodhi 44, 83; 46, 1; 54, 72; 59, 10.

2. The queen (rājini 24, 13 &c.). a. māhesī 7, 47; 8, 26; 10, 37, 78; 32, 7, 12, 22; 33, 36; 37, 211; 46, 27; 51, 6, 86; 66, 8, 16; 66, 15; 62, 19 ff.; 97, 2; 98, 1; 99, 123. two māhesī 33, 45-7; 59, 25, 30; 64, 24; (97, 24; 98, 4). — devī 22, 3; 33, 47; 34, 86; 35, 21; 36, 42, 50; 48, 116; 56, 10; 63, 4, 6; 64, 24. aggamāhesī 54, 19; 70, 33; 94, 9; 97, 2, 24; 98, 4. — b. Political marriages 7, 52 ff.; 51, 15 ff., 92 ff.; 54, 9 ff.; 59, 27 ff.; 40 ff.; 63, 6 ff.; 87, 28; 97, 24; 98, 4.

3. The princes (rājaputta 5, 194; 7, 10 &c.) a. Education 64, 3. — b. Ādipāda 41, 31; 49, 3; 50, 8, 25, 40 ff.; 51, 94, 126; 52, 4, 8, 42; 63, 1, 4, 13, 19, 28, 39; 64, 1, 11; 55, 11; 67, 4, 61; 59, 12; 60, 88; 61, 2 ff. malādipāda 44, 136; 50, 10, 44; 51, 1; 58, 7; 67, 91. — c. Yuvarāja 42, 6; 44, 123, 137; 50, 6, 21, 31; 51, 10, 15, 18, 53 ff.; 52, 1 ff., 6, 37, 42; 63, 1, 4, 13, 19, 28, 39; 54, 1, 7, 58; 58, 1; 59, 7; 61, 3; 63, 42; 67, 26; 85, 59. — uparāja 5, 154; 6, 38; 9, 12, 14; 14, 56; 22, 2 ff.; 41, 93; 42, 6; 44, 84, 119, 124; 46, 24; 50, 58 ff.; 51, 7, 12, 94; 53, 1, 4, 13, 39; 50, 11; 60, 40, 80, 86 ff. two

uparājas 99, 85, 121. — d. Mahyarāja, -rāyara 41, 35; 42, 6; 44, 53; 46, 29; 52, 68; 53, 36; 69, 6; 70, 62, 155. Cf. C. tr. I, p. XV-XX, XXIV.

4. The princesses (rājadhītā, rājakāntā 5, 194; 7, 59 &c.)  
a. rājīni as title 49, 3; 50, 58; 54, 11, 63; 59, 11; 60, 84; 62, 1.

5. The bhāgīneyya 1, 45; 5, 169; 11, 26; 16, 9; 18, 2; 48, 90; 49, 71; 61, 1 X.; 62, 60; 83, 11; 87, 38, 41; 88, 5.

6. Right of succession 33, 1-4, 20; 49, 65, 84; 50, 41; 52, 37; 54, 1; 60, 87; 61, 4; 62, 59; 63, 22; 80, 27, 28; 90, 1, 4, 49, 59. Cf. C. tr. I, p. XX-XXIV.

## B. Attributes of royalty; royal life

1. Residence (rājāllāni) 61, 25; 74, 1; 88, 103; 90, 35. palace (pāśāda, rājageha, -ghara, -mandira) 9, 11; 10, 71; 12, 16; 35, 68; 66, 127; 69, 12; 70, 237, 312; 73, 70; 92, 9; 98, 68. rājadvīpa 14, 60; 22, 15; 25, 105; 35, 53, 68. rājāngama 5, 47; 72, 214; 90, 66. royal throne (pallavika, asana, vibhāsanā) 25, 98; 27, 32 f.; 31, 76 f., 88; 35, 52, 54; 76, 166; 85, 111; 90, 18, 23; 100, 285. — 2. Royal insignia and ornaments (rājasādhaka, -bhuplāni, -bhūṣapa, -abharapa) 11, 28; 35, 102; 39, 28; 41, 20; 46, 38; 48, 89; 50, 51; 55, 16 f.; 56, 10; 71, 28; 74, 224; 76, 166; 82, 50; 90, 13 (crown 11, 28; 44, 145; 71, 28; 72, 826). cūlīmagi 33, 46. okavali 44, 127; 46, 17. (seta)chatta 11, 28; 17, 7; 19, 59; 31, 39, 78; 33, 40; 35, 15, 69; 44, 19 f.; 55, 1; 64, 33; 89, 4. okomara 76, 113; 85, 26; 89, 19; 99, 17, 55; 100, 193. vūlavijani 11, 28; 31, 78; 39, 53. magitīlavanya 31, 78). royal order 15, 188; 24, 58; 25, 67; 31, 32, 114; 58, 2, 57; 76, 68 &c. royal treasure bhuplāgūra) 69, 27; 70, 265. — 3. State elephant 14, 61; 17, 6; 19, 72 f.; 34, 86; 35, 20 f.; 78, 60 &c. state horse 22, 52; 34, 86. state carriage 31, 38; 72, 523. — 4. The harem (orodha, itthīgāra, antepara) 14, 46; 15, 182; 17, 63; 59, 33; 60, 85; 70, 266; 88, 74 (dancing girls 29, 24). the king's retinue (parivāra, bahattā, sevukī &c.) 31, 112; 35, 52;

38, 22; 67, 15; 70, 25 ff.; 72, 118 ff.; 83, 24; 88, 33 ff.; 89, 31 ff. (satta rūjaniggaṇī 88, 3; rūjakammāni 69, 22; rūjakammānikā 62, 34; paricāraka 63, 50, \*; pañca and dasa pessiyavaggī 7, 56; 67, 58; 84, 5). — 5. Funeral rites, cremation of the members of the r. family 24, 14; 25, 72 ff.; 32, 58, 79 ff.; 34, 34; 36, 121; 61, 9; 67, 89; 85, 76.

### C. Politics

1. Nīti, rūjanīti (naya, sippa) 10, 23; 48, 80, 96; 56, 3; 58, 1; 64, 3; 70, 56; 90, 56; 99, 81. Manonīti 80, 9, 53; 83, 6; 84, 2; 96, 26. dhamma, dasa rūjanidhammā (dasa puruṣa-kriyā) 7, 74; 37, 107, 180; 52, 43; 70, 31; 97, 4; 99, 74, 75, 81 ff.; 100, 118. saṃgahavatthūni (the four) 37, 108; 52, 43; 92, 8; 95, 2; 97, 2; 99, 14, 73, 82; 100, 118. — Support of poor subjects 52, 3; 53, 30; 60, 22, 71, 77 ff.; 62, 32. of poets 60, 75, 79. — 2. Distinctions conferred upon officials 61, 19; 68, 5; 69, 30; 70, 19, 277 ff.; 96, 38. — Relations to foreign sovereigns 11, 18 ff., 27 ff.; 58, 8; 60, 5 ff., 24 ff.; 62, 54; 67, 95; 76, 11 ff.; 80, 6 ff.; 87, 29; 88, 87 ff.; 98, 89 ff.; 99, 100 ff., 164; 100, 63 ff., 151 ff. honours paid to foreign ambassadors 7, 70; 11, 25 ff. &c. — Treaties 71, 1 ff. — Organised espionage 46, 130 ff.; 67, 19. — Foes of the King, rebels, corū 36, 21, 80 ff., 94; 37, 18; 59, 4. dāmarikā 61, 71; 74, 34 ff.; 75, 10, 34 ff.; 76, 3.

### D. Brahmanism at court

1. Brahmins supported by the king 48, 23; 51, 65 ff.; 77, 103. brahmanical rites observed at court 62, 33, 45 ff.; 63, 5; 64, 13 ff. the porohita 10, 79; 11, 26; 34, 24; 62, 28, 33, 46 (diya 11, 20), rippaseṭṭha 67, 29). care for Hindu temples 79, 19, 22, 81; 85, 85 ff.

### E. The king and the Buddhist order

1. Bhikkhus as advisers of the king 42, 22; 57, 38 ff.; 87, 39 ff., 62 ff.; as mediators in conflicts of the royal family

24. 50 ff.; 51, 14; 52, 9; 53, 25 ff.; 70, 328 ff. political influence of the clergy 33, 17 ff.; 60, 87; 61, 1; 76, 73 ff. — Bh.s accompany the king in the field 25, 3; 96, 15. — 2. Princes educated by bh.s 81, 76 ff. members of the royal family enter the order 15, 18 ff.; 17, 57 ff.; 18, 5; 34, 28 ff., 35; 34, 29; 94, 22. conversion to Buddhism of foreign mahesū 98, 6 ff. — 3. Kings cause sermons to be held or hearken to them 32, 44; 41, 58; 54, 34 ff.; 60, 8; 62, 31; 92, 11 ff.; 98, 73 ff.; 99, 15 ff., 20, 30 ff., 88; 100, 116 ff., 275, 280 ff. they recite holy texts 52, 48 ff.; 54, 4; 60, 17. — 4. K.s or princes cause holy texts to be copied 45, 3; 60, 22; 81, 40 ff.; 90, 37 ff.; 91, 27; 92, 13; 97, 36; 99, 86. payment of the scribes 91, 28; 99, 33. — Literary works composed at the k.'s instigation 54, 35; 97, 56 ff., 59; 90, 78 ff., 82 ff.; 98, 24. sacred books fetched from abroad 84, 26; 100, 73. bhikkhus fetched from abroad to Ceylon 60, 5 ff.; 84, 9, 11 ff.; 94, 15 ff.; 97, 10 ff.; 98, 89 ff.; 100, 58 ff., 136 ff. — The king cares for the accomplishments of the clergy 84, 26 ff.; 98, 16 ff.; 99, 173 ff.; 100, 101 ff. — 5. Clerical acts, particularly the pabbajjā and upasampadā ceremonies, performed at the k.'s instigation 60, 7; 78, 30; 81, 49 ff.; 84, 37, 41; 87, 72; 89, 47; 90, 39, 62, 65; 91, 31; 92, 19, 21 ff.; 94, 20; 97, 8, 13, 26; 98, 16; 99, 168 ff.; 100, 94 ff., 133 ff., 172. purification of the order and church-reform caused by the k. 5, 236 ff.; 36, 41, 111 ff.; 39, 57; 44, 46, 76; 51, 64; 52, 44; 73, 2 ff.; 78, 2 ff.; 84, 7 ff.; 91, 11; 100, 44 ff. the k. determines a simī 10, 184 ff.; 78, 56 ff. — 6. Dedication to the church or to a sanctuary of the kingdom, the regalia &c. 18, 36; 19, 31; 31, 90, 92, 111 ff.; 32, 36; 39, 31; 42, 61; 82, 50; 85, 109 ff.; 86, 57. donations equal to the bodily weight 51, 128; 60, 21; 73, 11. the k. grants titles to the bh.s 84, 31, 38; 89, 64 ff.; 100, 239. — 7. Conflicts with the bh.s 44, 74 ff.; 53, 14 ff.; 93, 6 ff., 10. — Persecution of the christians 98, 80 ff.

## F. Administration of the kingdom

1. Officials and titles (cf. C. tr. I, p. XXV ff. and p. 339, 2), chaita mark of distinction for officials 70, 85, 122. — General expressions: *adhibikārin* 66, 66; 70, 278, 297 ff.; 72, 21, 37, 75, 122, 133, 138, 160, 207, 232, 265. *adhipattha* 70, 216, 278. *antaraṅgadhura* 69, 32, 35. *amaceca* 4, 37; 5, 35, 239 &c.; 58, 30; 66, 72 &c. (*mahāamaceca* 16, 10; 61, 1; 72, 96, 129 &c.; *mahā-*mattha** 72, 70, 181; *mūlāmaceca* 69, 31). *maṇḍalika*, *maṇḍalanā-*yaka** 46, 31; 51, 109, 122; 54, 8; 69, 5; 70, 242, 246. *mantin* 66, 113; 89, 27. *saciva* 66, 67; 67, 90; 68, 7, 18; 70, 83, 324. *sāmantha* (58, 20); 61, 64; 66, 142; 69, 5, 16; 70, 9, 57, 129, 136, 179, 189, 242, 246, 314; 72, 16 ff., 50, 54, 78, 82, 165. — Special designations: *asigāha* 39, 54; 42, 42; 44, 1, 43, 54, 58 ff.; 66, 29. *ādipotthakin* (*bhaṇḍārap*, *bhaṇḍāgārūḍhikārin*) 69, 27; 72, 27, 160, 182, 196, 207. *kaṭṭenikā* (-*nayaka*) 63, 53; 69, 26; 70, 44; 72, 58; 73, 176. *kumārañatha* (-*nayaka*) 72, 58, 206. *gaṇuka* (-*amaceca*) 11, 20; 69, 30; 76, 39. *chattaggāha* (-*nayaka*) 38, 8; 59, 16; 66, 29; 70, 60; 72, 68. *jivitapotthakin* 70, 174, 318; 72, 161; 74, 90. *daṇḍanātha*, *“nayaka”* *“adhinā-*yaka*”* 11, 26; 70, 5, 8, 16, 19, 64, 68, 124, 279; 72, 36, 65, 102, 222. *devatāika* 35, 51. *duṇḍimagebhākāñtha* 69, 16. *nagar-*guttika** 10, 81. *bhaṇḍārapotthakin*, *bhaṇḍāgārūḍhikārin* see *ādipotthakin*, *mahālekha* 62, 33; 72, 1, 161, 166, 170, 182, 206. *mūlapotthakin* 73, 139 ff. *lekhaka* 66, 155. *subhāpati* (*lekhārasabhaṇ्यaka*) 67, 61, 64, 70, 80. *sethīnātha* 69, 16. *senāpati* (*senāni*, *“adhināyaka*, *camūpati*, *duṇḍinipati* &c.) 11, 27; 16, 212; 35, 59; 50, 82; 51, 30, 40, 88; 52, 16, 28; 53, 43 ff.; 54, 13 ff., 58 ff.; 55, 2; 66, 7; 64, 9 ff., 22; 65, 13 ff., 27 ff.; 66, 2 ff.; 67, 82; 70, 123, 129 ff., 153 ff., 235; 72, 45, 49, 76, 122 ff., 137 ff.; 90, 12; 96, 38 (*sakkusenāpati* 52, 52, 61 ff., 72 ff.; 54, 53; *andhasenāpati* 41, 87). — Titles: *kesadhiṭu* 57, 65 ff.; 72, 2, 5, 7, 107; 76, 253 ff., 324 ff. &c. (cf. C. ed. II, p. 601, col. 2); (-*nayaka* 70, 68, 279). *jitagiri* 72, 25. *damilāḍhikārin* 75, 29 ff., 69 ff.; 76, 39. *nagaragiri*, *“galla* 66, 35, 62; 70, 68, 89, 146, 199, 318; 72, 107; 76, 60. *nilagiri* 70, 137, 140.

māragiri 72, 11, 164, 174; laṅkāgiri 72, 27, 124 f.; 76, 250; laṅkādhikārin 70, 278, 283, 306, 316; laṅkādhināyaka (Pāñtha &c.) 70, 24, 95 ff.; 124, 174, 205, 220; laṅkāpura 72, 39, 222; 75, 70; 76, 250, 324, 326; loṅgalla 72, 222; snikha(ka)nāyaka 70, 278; 72, 31, 41; 75, 76.

2. Administration of justice. The k. the highest judge 21, 14; alleviation of punishment 36, 80 f.; 83, 4 ff.; 87, 48 f. amnesty 34, 84; 62, 42; 89, 2 ff. — Law-books 49, 20; 80, 41. — Crimes: high treason 35, 10; 36, 21, 91; 87, 48(?); robbery 61, 67; indebtedness 36, 39. — Forensic procedure 35, 10; 37, 38; 78, 13. — Punishment: hīpśūmuto vohāra 36, 28; fine 83, 6; prison 35, 22; 54, 31; 62, 42; 70, 238, 264; 83, 4; mutilation, capital punishment 35, 11, 36, 43; 36, 121; 59, 22; 60, 42 ff.; 75, 160 ff., 190 ff., 83, 4; 87, 49.

3. Internal administration. Book-keeping at court 66, 155; 69, 27. — Taxes 61, 53, 70; 68, 54; 73, 3; 74, 18 f.; 87, 50; alleviation of taxes 36, 26; the gāmabhojaka 61, 73. — The village community 10, 103; 23, 4; 38, 38; 55, 31; 60, 75; 74, 48 f.; 84, 3 ff.; 86, 53. — Administration organised by Parakkamabūba I. 69, 27 ff.; 74, 48 f.

## G. Army and war

1. The soldiers (bhāja 39, 20; 58, 20 &c.; yodhi 22, 44; 69, 7 &c.; sura 69, 36; 99, 119 &c.; virā 72, 248 &c.) Euroiling of soldiers 10, 21; soldier's pay 90, 15, 18 f., 20. — Four-membered army 18, 29; 25, 81; 70, 217, 226; 71, 18 &c. balavāhana 15, 189; 17, 28; 25, 1, 57; 70, 23, 69 &c. war elephants 25, 26 ff., 81; 41, 23; 50, 21 ff.; 70, 229; 76, 48 &c. chariot warriors 25, 81 (rathin 88, 34; ratnesabha 15, 189; srathī 14, 42). cavalry 29, 81 (numerous in the Damila armies 76, 100, 238, 331). infantry (patti) 25, 81. — Mercenaries (ayudhiya 61, 69; ayudhajīvin 66, 67); Sihūra 55, 12; 61, 69; 74, 44; 90, 17 ff. Damila, Keraṇa, Kappāra 45, 11; 55, 5, 12; 69, 18; 70, 230; 74, 44. — the Vehakkāra 60, 36; 63, 24, 29; 74, 44. villages granted to the mercenaries for maintenance 74, 48. — Militia 67, 70; 70, 82, 187, 260; 72,

127; 74, 52, 112; 75, 102; 99, 42 ff. (among the Damijas 26, 130, 216 f., 259 ff.). vyādhī, kirātā, cori as soldiers 69, 20; 70, 285; 72, 208. — Officers (sāmanta see F 1). an umbrella their badge 68, 49; 70, 122; 76, 160; 88, 75. a palanquin their conveyance 70, 85, 122; 72, 100. — Trumpets 25, 65; 65, 27; 66, 32; 72, 119; 74, 222; 85, 113; 88, 75; 89, 46. drums 69, 20; 70, 227; 74, 222; 75, 104; 76, 161; 85, 114; 88, 75; 96, 15 f.; 99, 46. flags 70, 225; 85, 113; 88, 75. a relic as field-badge 26, 1; 26, 9. — 2. Weapons (yuddha, see 7, 36; 69, 7, 38; 99, 49 &c.; five kinds 7, 16; 41, 48; 70, 229). Bow and arrows 6, 20; 7, 19; 25, 89 ff.; 99; 33, 63, 65; 35, 31; 55, 6; 57, 43; 66, 27; 70, 114; 72, 134, 246, 250; 74, 96, 117; 83, 44; 96, 14. poisoned arrows 76, 49; 83, 38, 45. gokappa arrows 76, 48. archers 25, 82; 69, 19; 70, 116; 72, 244, 322. — Sword: asi 10, 59 ff.; 22, 44, 53; 66, 108; 72, 84. khagga 25, 63, 89; 30, 93; 31, 79; 64, 4; 66, 24, 31, 49; 72, 102; 88, 74 &c. — thara 24, 1; 69, 22. (royal swords 72, 102 f.). — Dagger: chitrīka 55, 6, 17; 69, 21. asiputtaka 41, 24. nikkerati 44, 112. — Spear: kanta 25, 1; 26, 9; 36, 47; 96, 14; 99, 49. satti, sattha 69, 20; 70, 116; 90, 7. tentara 24, 35; 70, 116. salla 70, 307. — Lasso 7, 20; 10, 55. — Club 25, 58; 69, 17. — catapult 72, 251; 83, 44. — Armour (kavaca) 69, 7, 38. shield 25, 58, 62 ff.; 67, 42; 99, 48. doublet of buffalo hide 74, 73. — 3. The war (yuddha 1, 63; 38, 46 &c.). Preparation of war 68, 7, 38, 52; 69, 28, 33, 38; 70, 1, 57. yuddhopakarayam 69, 5, 14, 17, 31; 70, 1; 96, 12. — Review of troops 99, 42 ff. sharp-blights 89, 26, 31 f. manoevers 69, 36. — Four methods of war 58, 3. guerilla warfare (cornyuddha) 70, 18 N., 193. ambush 66, 75 f. strategem 25, 56. — Battle (yuddha, surprise, rāja &c. 24, 19; 70, 246; 72, 5, 17; 96, 17 &c.). single combat of the commanders 25, 67 ff., 83 ff.; 41, 47 ff.; 60, 30 ff. victory and defeat (jaya and pariñjaya, abhava 70, 78 f., 180, 225, 246; 71, 16 &c.). celebration of victory 76, 332. abhava as distinction of victorious officers 72, 320. officers of the defeated foe beheaded 70, 122. — Naval battles 70, 63 ff., 91; 96, 32. — Field entrenchments 10, 44; 25, 20;

37, 19; 38, 36; 70, 61, 72, 93, 100, 130 ff., 161, 163 ff.; 72, 232 ff., 238; 74, 32 ff., 62, 86 ff., 91; 76, 121 ff. &c. fortresses 81, 1 ff.; 88, 41, 60, 77; 96, 22, 34; 99, 116; defence, besiege, capture, plundering of fortresses 25, 21 ff.; 61, 31; 68, 55 ff.; 70, 235 ff., 251 ff., 288 ff.; 72, 209 ff., 250 ff.; 76, 244 ff., 321 ff.

## VII. The people

### A. Clans, castes, guilds.

1. Clans-names 19, 2; 35, 16 ff.; 38, 13; 39, 44; 41, 69; 42, 30; 66, 35; 69, 13; 74, 21 ff.; 80, 15; 85, 51; 90, 7; 91, 3 (Moriyā and Lambakappa in India 5, 17; 77, 27 ff.) — Castes (vaṇṇa 72, 145) and guilds 7, 57; 19, 1, 3; 69, 24; 80, 41, 75, setphin 11, 26; 19, 2, 67; 59, 16. khattiya, rājāna 3, 3; 7, 47; 17, 63; 19, 54, 66; 87, 28; 89, 27. brāhmaṇa, dvīja, vippa 3, 3; 9, 2; 10, 20, 192; 19, 2; 33, 37 ff.; 34, 24; 35, 18; 37, 41; 62, 33, 46; 64, 16; 66, 132; 67, 94. vessa 3, 3; 20, 15; 76, 264. sudda 3, 3. — Kallan: hūm 61, 50, 52, 52, 68; 66, 153. kuluputtu 72, 30 ff.; 92, 22; 97, 13 ff., 26; 99, 169; 100, 134, 172; kulinthi 60, 78; tulavappa 95, 6; kulapati 23, 19. — Slaves (dūsa, dūsi) 9, 4, 15, 19, 22, 24; 27, 12; 61, 68; 70, 202; 88, 106; 90, 2 (shaving of the head 6, 42. redemption of slaves 87, 46). outcasts (cṇḍīla) 9, 57; 10, 91 ff.; 33, 2; 35, 18; 66, 132; 88, 106.

2. Single professions (kammakira 61, 68; 69, 21; 99, 50; pesakira, pessiya 7, 56; 30, 6; sippika, -in 34, 73; 66, 139; 88, 13, 85. List of craftsmen 88, 195-7, (wandering craftsmen 66, 139). payment of the craftsmen 27, 22 ff.; 30, 14, 18 ff.; 88, 110; of artists 100, 198 ff. farmer and herdsman: kasi-kunna 69, 47; 76, 287; gopaka, gopala 9, 22; 10, 13, 17; 19, 2. smith: kammara 68, 25; 88, 105; iohakāra 68, 25; sappalāra 18, 21; 66, 139; 68, 25. goldsmith's works 98, 91; 100, 30, 72. barber &c.: nūpita, nūpaka, kappaku 29, 20; 34, 84; 69, 26; 70, 44. bricklayer: (iṭṭhaka)vadjhuki 30, 5, 8, 30; 35, 101, 109 ff.; 37, 27; 88, 106. mason: silūkottaka 68, 25. wood-carrier: dāmbaratika 34, 22. writer: lekhaka

37, 26; 66, 155; 99, 33. merchant: vāṇīja 6, 49; 7, 24; 28, 21 ff.; 75, 45; 95, 4; 99, 109 (wandering traders 66, 134). hunter: īḍḍaka, vyāḍha 28, 9, 11; 67, 19; 70, 35, 44. fisherman: īḍḍika, kevāḍa 22, 62; 28, 37.

### B. Settlement

1. Village: gāṇa, passum, fence of briars round a v. 66, 87 (gāṇika "villager" 23, 65; 67, 70; jāṇapada 29, 22). — small town: nīgama (nēgama 70, 254). — town: nagara, pura, pāṭa 87, 67 (nāgara 4, 5, 15; 14, 59; 17, 63; 79, 1 &c.; pāṭa 29, 22). — 2. Description of a town 10, 84 ff.; 73, 55 ff.; 88, 92 ff., 116 ff.; 91, 5. four districts of a t. 73, 26. streets: rūḍhi 34, 76; 73, 59. houses: gēlin, ghāru, īgāra (special kinds: aḍḍhayoga, hamīya 88, 93, 118). houses of more than one storey: pāśāda 88, 92; 91, 5 &c. (cf. vā, C, 12 e). bulls: sūlū, catussālū 15, 47, 50; 35, 88; 37, 15; 73, 23; 76, 123. alms-houses: dānasālā 54, 30; 73, 26. hospitals: vejjasālā (37, 182) 49, 18, 19; 52, 25, 57; 54, 31, 53; 73, 34. dispensaries: bheṣajjagēlin 52, 27. lying-in hospitals: sīrīkāśottih-sālā 10, 102; sūtīghāra 79, 61. shops: nāpāga 5, 52; 28, 29; 34, 76; 91, 5. gardens, parks (nāyāna), bathing-ponds (pokkharāpi), bath-houses (ubhānakotthaku): 15, 2, 7, 8, 30, 202, 207; 35, 97, 98; 37, 33; 68, 57 f.; 73, 95–123; 78, 45 ff.; 79, 1 ff.; 100, 238 f. janṭīghāra 15, 31. — 3. Fortification of the city 60, 2 f.; 73, 57 ff.; 94, 7 f. wall and trench (pākāra, pariklā) 25, 8; 35, 96; 69, 3; 70, 236; 91, 5, 7. gate-towers, bastions &c. (gopura, dvāraṭāla, dvārakottha, patthayālā, toraya, khaudhīvāra) 51, 31; 60, 3; 70, 116, 130; 91, 5, 7; 96, 30; 98, 70. gates (four) 34, 79; 35, 97. fourteen gates of Palat-thiengāra 73, 160 ff. — 4. Suburbs (of P.) 73, 151 ff.; 78, 79 ff.

### C. Domestic and social life

1. The family. Terms of kinship 7, 65; 9, 16, 24, 26 f.; 10, 7, 29, 73 f., 82; 11, 20; 48, 51, 82; 51, 21; 52, 11; 57, 28; 59, 28; 61, 1; 62, 2; 63, 38, 40, 51, 53; 64, 33; 67, 16; 69, 20; 70, 266; 93, 9; 99, 1, 123. three kinds of sons 87, 18 ff. —

Marriage (paripaya) 72, 91. marriage-outfit of a bride 7, 55 ff.; 87, 28. brides from India 7, 50 ff.; 87, 28; 96, 40. allusion to the buying of brides 72, 91. master of the house (kutumbika) 23, 61, 90; 24, 25. fire kept in the house 10, 14. — Pregnancy 22, 42 ff.; 62, 36. child-birth, birth-rites 9, 21; 62, 45. childhood 87, 55 ff.; 88, 6 (wet nurse 36, 20). domestic ceremonies 22, 65, 71; 62, 53; 63, 5; 64, 13. — Death and funeral 74, 144 f.

2. Food and drink 7, 24; 10, 3; 14, 55; 22, 44, 70; 24, 56; 29, 28; 30, 37, 39; 32, 30, 39 f., 45, 49; 34, 55 f., 62; 35, 65, 67, 92 f.; 36, 69, 100; 54, 22 f.; 70, 211; 73, 36; 86, 38; 89, 44 ff., 51 ff.; 100, 4, 195 f. — morning meal 25, 114. pod-pepper and other spice 25, 114; 26, 16; 28, 21; 54, 22 f. — Intoxicating drinks (sura) 20, 32; 54, 70 f. — Betel chewing 36, 62; 54, 22; 100, 3, 196.

3. Dress (vattika 11, 29; 29, 28; 35, 65; 36, 53 &c.) and ornaments (abharapa 7, 27 &c.). Staffs 68, 9; 70, 109; 73, 84; 90, 70. — Turban 11, 28; 29, 28; 32, 78; 35, 53 (hair-knot 66, 109). mantle 35, 102; 60, 70; 66, 103, 109. shoes (pādaka, upālumi) 11, 28; 30, 14, 39. — Ornaments, unguents, perfumes (sugandha 89, 42) 7, 55; 11, 28; 25, 91; 32, 29; 34, 52; 66, 44 f., 104; 70, 108) 78, 84; 76, 206, 237; 85, 41, 116; 89, 19; 97, 47. anjana 11, 29; 34, 52. incense 89, 42.

4. Articles of personal use (tools &c.). Umbrella (Alapatha, chatta) 76, 113; 89, 19; 99, 47, 55 (cf. n. B, 2). fan 11, 28; 31, 78; 76, 115; 85, 27, 46; 89, 20; 100, 193. napkin 11, 29. twigs for cleansing the teeth 5, 25. — Knife (vīśi) 28, 24 f. hammer, axe and other tools 29, 3; 88, 108 f. — Pottery, vessels: kalasa 74, 205; 86, 28. kumbha 89, 29; 90, 71. śāmanakumbhi 27, 40. ghāṭa 29, 57 ff.; 76, 112, 115; 85, 26; 92, 17. thāla, thali 89, 21, 44; pacīggāha 89, 21. pāli 39, 12. bhājana 11, 31; 22, 5, 64 (fig. 44, 70; 84, 16). bhūnāra 11, 28; 76, 115; 89, 20. saraha 32, 55. — Spoon 27, 40. basket (pāṭaka, poṭa) 36, 93; 88, 109. water-strainer 36, 92.

5. Household-furniture. Bed: māñcaka 24, 40; 27, 39; 54, 31; sayana, seyya 22, 83 ff.; 23, 39; 25, 102; 31, 107 f.;

62, 23, 24 &c. chair, pitha; 27, 39; pallauka 27, 32 f.; 31, 76 f. sivika 11, 31; 32, 7. — Carpet, mat 14, 51; 25, 102; 27, 35; 34, 54; 73, 61; 88, 109; 90, 70; 98, 46. — Lamp 25, 101; 31, 80; 33, 6; 34, 55, 77; 74, 295; 85, 40 f.; 89, 43 f.; 90, 71; 92, 17; 99, 62. lamp-stand 76, 295; 89, 25. — Mirror: adāna: 100, 106; dappaga 89, 21. — Charcoal-pan 66, 70. bell 21, 15. mill-stone (nisuda) 23, 6; 28, 40; 30, 9. chest (mañjusa) 30, 60. — parissavana 36, 92.

6. Measures and weights, time, money. Measures of length: yojana (cf. M. tr. p. 297, Nr. 31) 1, 21; 5, 23, 179, 262; 6, 18, 35; 18, 29; 20, 12; 23, 22, 26; 28, 7, 13 ft.; 38, 68 (note is incorrect; cf. C. tr. I, p. 349), 85, 4; 86, 41; 89, 14. gāvuta 65, 4; 73, 151; 74, 63; 76, 197; 89, 9. usabha 22, 42; 23, 88; 25, 43; 85, 1. haltha 1, 41; 18, 27; 25, 43; 70, 128; 78, 63, 69. ratana 15, 167; 30, 58, 63; 72, 235; 78, 77; 92, 17. vidatthi 28, 14. taṅgula, -li 18, 27; 28, 11; 30, 59. perisa 72, 235. yaṭhi 78, 63; 86, 41. bayupāta 72, 239. dhama 35, 31. (tāla 17, 43. — Square measures: amūpa 38, 77. karūpa 10, 30; 28, 13; 35, 83, 86. — measures of capacity: amūpa 30, 7 f.; doṣa 15, 167; 31, 18; 74, 3. māt 30, 67; 32, 45. — weights: nikha(ha) 76, 18; 82, 13 f.; 100, 14. — Time: year (vassa, saṃvachara, passim, hāyana 41, 3; 44, 133 &c.). months (mīna 3, 16; 5, 279; 25, 3 &c.). names of months 1, 12, 19, 46, 70; 3, 2; 11, 37, 10, 42; 12, 2; 13, 14, 18; 16, 2, 14; 17, 1, 17; 18, 7, 61 f., 61; 19, 9; 20, 33; 29, 1, 14, 63; 31, 109; 38, 37; 41, 80; 85, 89; 90, 62; 100, 91. saṅkka-, kālapakleha 18, 61 f., 64; 19, 9; 20, 33; 29, 14; 31, 109. day (divasa passim, vāsara 62, 16, 32; 70, 263 &c.). yāma 25, 105; 85, 40. — Money: kālūpaya 4, 19; 21, 26; 25, 100; 30, 14, 18; 53, 29, 32 f.; 77, 192; 81, 45. gold coins 27, 21; 48, 7; 81, 45; 100, 11. silver coins 91, 12; 97, 6. sums of money in numbers only (to be supplied by kālūpaya) 6, 24 f.; 7, 61; 10, 18, 24; 23, 36 f.; 26, 22; 34, 87; 35, 61, 72; 89, 66; 92, 13.

7. Traffic and trade. Roads: maggānumaggā 67, 20. — footpaths 70, 4; 72, 240. high-roads (mahāmaggā) in C. 25, 6 f.; 50, 37; 58, 41; 73, 163; 74, 89; 89, 13 f. cause-

ways and bridges 70, 127 f.; 86, 21 ff.; 98, 86; 99, 118. resthouses 60, 65; 89, 15; 99, 118. mile-stones 80, 25 N. — Means of conveyance: yāna, vāhana 10, 31 ff.; 58, 21; 61, 6; 99, 84. carriage (ratha) 7, 46; 14, 42; 15, 189; 31, 38; 33, 46; 70, 127; 89, 16. cart (nakula) 28, 21 ff.; 39, 6; 34, 16. litter 70, 85, 122; 72, 100; 90, 5, 8; 95, 12; (?) 15, 189; 25, 1, 57; 70, 23, 69). — Trade: (merchant see VII, A, 2). navigation and ocean-trade 6, 43; 7, 51, 58; 8, 11; 11, 23, 38; 18, 7 f.; 19, 4, 17, 70; 23, 24; 35, 26 f.; 58, 9; 69, 33; 100, 63 ff., 75 ff. harbours in C. Mahātīthha 7, 58; 25, 79; 48, 81; 51, 28; 60, 31; 88, 63 &c. Jambuhola 11, 23, 38; 18, 7; 19, 23 ff. Uruvelapuṭṭham 28, 36. Matikkāśatīthha 60, 34. Maunāra 61, 39; 63, 16. Vālukagūra 73, 45. Pallavavānka 76, 46. Palaceeri 83, 17 (?). Bhimatīthha 86, 10. Kolaumbatīthha 94, 1. Tīkoparmālatīthha 100, 76, in India: Tāgūlātī 11, 38; 19, 6. — Articles of trade: horses from India (sindhava) 21, 10; 23, 71; 31, 38. elephants from Birma 76, 17-34. jewels 69, 33. spice 28, 21; 54, 46; 58, 9. stuffs 58, 9.

8. Rural life. Agriculture (kaśikapūma) 69, 37. its intrinsic value 92, 21 ff. clearing of the jungle 23, 51; 68, 30. — Irrigation works 68, 16 ff., 32 ff.; 79, 27 ff.; 88, 111 ff. matiki "canal" 61, 65; 68, 21, 33; 79, 25 ff., 40 ff. (nettika 60, 14). vāpiṇi (see V, C, c, 6) gāph, kar, bandh 10, 88; 23, 92 f.; 35, 120; 36, 3; 37, 46; 38, 42; 42, 31; 51, 73; 79, 69. structure of a tank: dam (bandhana, setu, setobandha) 42, 31; 68, 17, 23, 26, 28. paṇḍa "outflow running through the dam, sluice" 79, 27, 30, 42 ff., 68. kavaraya "lock" 60, 52; 61, 65; 79, 27 N., 69. koggalabaddha "square hole (for the lock)" 68, 16; 79, 27 N., 28. weir (vāripata) 48, 148; 68, 35, 37, 40. flood-escape (nijjhara) 68, 33, 50; 79, 28, 66. — raising of the water by means of machines 34, 45. subterranean canals 85, 98. — Fields 23, 51; 68, 30, 52 ff.; 88, 114 f.; 92, 26. produce of the fields 23, 51; 34, 3; 68, 31; 92, 26. corn (bhūtma) 68, 7, 38; 70, 1. sowing and harvest 10, 31; 24, 58; 34, 3. barn 68, 31. — cocon-plantation 90, 93. sugar-mill 34, 41; 61, 53. — Herdsman

9, 22; 10, 19, 17; 19, 2. assagaja 39, 1; hattipaka 88, 34. cattle (goṭṭa) 35, 12. domestic animals: elephant, cow, buffalo, dog, see V, C, 3, b, 3.

9. Education of the people, literary life. Education: wandering schoolmasters 66, 138. art of writing, letters 7, 51, 57; 8, 7; 22, 15; 23, 25, 33, 35; 33, 40; 66, 36; 67, 55, 58; 76, 39; 98, 99; 100, 61, 158. Iekhaka 49, 33. royal inscriptions and samas 28, 2; 33, 50; 64, 28; 86, 94 f., 39; 100, 214. — Appreciation of books, their destruction and restitution 52, 50; 80, 67; 81, 41 ff.; 99, 125. See also V, E, 4. — Knowledge of languages and dialects 66, 138; 69, 22; 90, 80. Pali as ecclesiastical language 98, 90. grammar 64, 3. philosophy 90, 80. — Poetry: hāveyya 42, 13; 64, 3. poets in C, 42, 13; 60, 75. See V, E, 4.

10. Sport and amusement. Sport (kila 66, 111): hunting 5, 151; 10, 2; 14, 1, 4; 30, 32 ff.; 72, 263 (bow and javelin, the hunter's weapons 14, 4; 70, 41). capture of wild elephants 72, 105. art of fencing 24, 1; 64, 4; 69, 22. pugilistic contest 63, 30; 73, 73. riding on horseback or on elephant 22, 56; 23, 72 ff.; 24, 1; 62, 6; 64, 4; 69, 32; 88, 34; 96, 7 ff. Archery (dharusippa 57, 49) 23, 86 ff.; 24, 1; 69, 19; 72, 243, 245; 83, 45. plays in water 26, 7, 10; 70, 21. — Music and dance: music (Loriyavādīta 34, 60; Lalavacara 17, 7). song (gītā) 34, 79; 72, 94. dance (naœca) 34, 60, 79; 85, 10. musicians 39, 91; 69, 21; 72, 94, 264. singers 72, 264; 85, 43. dancers and dancing girls 10, 87; 29, 24; 32, 78; 74, 217; 85, 43. wandering musicians 66, 132 ff.; bards and minstrels 74, 222; 89, 34. musical instruments, tariya (five kinds 73, 63; 85, 30, 45; 89, 93) 29, 25; 76, 114. flute 30, 75; 31, 82; 72, 264; 74, 216. trumpet 74, 222; 99, 60; 100, 33, 190. drums: kheri 74, 221; 96, 15; 99, 46; maddala 96, 15; 99, 46; mudita 74, 216. kālala 74, 222. — rasa-theory 66, 56; 72, 94, 265; 73, 117; 75, 89. lāpa 73, 79. — dance and music at festival occasions 34, 60, 79; 74, 215-7; 85, 42 ff.; 89, 33 ff.; 90, 71; 99, 46. d. and m. as amusement of ladies and princes and at court 26, 99, 102; 29, 24; 64, 4.

69, 22; 70, 31; 73, 141. — Public amusements: *samajja* 34, 79 (cf. E. HAROT, Album Kern, p. 61 ff.). *Asālha-fest* 55, 89; 99, 53; *vasanta-kīra* 64, 17. — stage for mimics (*ratigabhamī*) 31, 82; puppet-plays 66, 133; snake-charmers 66, 131; mendicant artists 52, 10; 53, 10. — festival processions 31, 36 ff.; 37, 77 ff.; 38, 77; 52, 53 ff.; 72, 313 ff.; 74, 221 ff.; 76, 108 ff.; 89, 16 ff.; 99, 45 ff., 54 ff. decoration of the streets 19, 38; 34, 76 ff.; 37, 74 ff.; 62, 19; 74, 199 ff.; 85, 4 ff.; 89, 11 ff.; 98, 10 ff.; 99, 7 ff., 13; 100, 25 ff. illumination 34, 80. donations distributed to the people at festival occasions 29, 20 ff., 27 ff.

11. Medicine. Physicians and medical art 32, 38; 73, 16 ff., 39; 99, 176 ff.; 100, 144. wandering quacks 66, 137. Kings as physicians 37, 112–50; 73, 34–54. gynecology 37, 110. veterinary science 25, 34; 37, 112 ff., 123; 73, 50 ff. medical books 97, 59. — Diseases 15, 60, 63; 35, 66; 36, 82 ff.; 37, 111; 52, 25, 77; 66, 5; 99, 176. cripples 37, 118. poisoning 66, 131, 138. surgical instruments 37, 150; 70, 51. bleeding 37, 123. medicaments: *bhesajja* 5, 221; 22, 30; 32, 38; 76, 19 ff. &c. honey and ghee 5, 49 ff., 215. — Hospitals and dispensaries see VII, B, 2.

12. Art: architecture, plastic and graphic art. Architecture, a. building material (dabba) 25, 39; 37, 25, 29; *parpañ* 30, 6 ff. *mattika* 11, 29; 29, 5; 30, 21. *canopy* 88, 106; 100, 284. *sudhī* 25, 29; 29, 6; 32, 1; 34, 46; 68, 27; 91, 29 ff.; 97, 38, 47. *ītthaka* 25, 29; 28, 5, 7 ff.; 30, 15 ff.; 35, 87; 88, 98, 106; 92, 10; 100, 87, 284 (*tambalohitthaka* 27, 12). *gītjaka* 88, 97. *silt* 25, 29; 33, 23, 25; 35, 118; 36, 102; 68, 25; 88, 107; 97, 47; 98, 80; 100, 284, 296. *medavāṇuprāśīṇa* 30, 57; 31, 110, 121. — b. Workmen: *vaiḍhaki* see VII, A, 2; 88, 106 ff. — c. Various buildings: *ekatthūnikageha*, *ekatthambhapāśāla* 9, 9; 73, 92. *pāśāla*, *viḍhayoga*, *hammīya* see VII, B, 2. — d. Elements of a house: *śīra* 35, 3; *śīlinda* 35, 3; 98, 44. *drāra* 73, 63; 88, 99. *kudīta* 35, 25; 73, 63. *bhūmi* 73, 63; 88, 98. *thombha* 27, 30; 36, 102; 60, 11; 78, 41; 88, 98; 100, 296 ff. *sepāṇa* 34, 44; 73, 64; 78, 41; 88, 99. *vedikā* 27, 16, 26; 73, 88; 88, 99.

gabbha 27. 15, 28; 73. 61. kūpāgāmī 27. 15, 26; 73. 62; 78. 38, 49, 55. viññāka 88. 97. sīhupatijera 27. 16, 28. chadama (72. 211); 27. 49. valabhi 88. 97 (bulāyatthī 88. 97; gopānasi 37. 141; 88. 98). — e. Pāsāda (dīgha-, etīapī 78. 36 f., 50; 90. 90); pūkāra 27. 41. kūpāgāra, gabbhasālāghura, pañjārāgeha 78. 55. dvārakotthāka 27. 41. gopura 60. 12. pāsādaṭula 25. 98, 105; 28. 3. thūpikā 31. 13; 73. 135, singū 90. 66, 90. underground tunnel 56. 7. — Thūpa, cetiya (M. tr. p. 295, Nr. 26): a tree as cetiya 1. 67. thūpa "tomb" 20. 53; 37. 41. cetiya "tomb" 20. 41; 25. 73. cetiya = thūpa 29. 15; 30. 57; 86. 51 &c. dhātugabbha = thūpa 60. 56; 68. 28; 79. 14. silāmūya thūpa 35. 118. model of a thūpa 30. 11 ff. — erection of a thūpa 30. 15 ff. mantling of a ruined thūpa (kañcuka) 1. 42; 33. 23, 25; 35. 85, 121; 36. 12. — parts of a thūpa: foundation 29. 2-12 (mañgaliṭṭhaka 29. 15, 16-63), moonstone 31. 61. torīpa 38. 10. / valikāñgapa, -marjyāda, cetiyāñgapa 33. 31; 34. 70; 37. 60. latthipākāra, -vedī 33. 5; 38. 10; 39. 30; 41. 95. pupphādāhāra 30. 51, 56; 33. 22. pāñchaveditū 34. 41; 35. 2. dhātugabbha 30. 57 ff., 62 ff.; 34. 19. sudhākanīmū 32. 1; 33. 5; 34. 36. the "tee": caturassācaya 31. 124; mūḍhavedī 32. 5; soggathūpa 100. 262. vedikā on the tee 34. 39; 35. 2. figures of sun and moon on the tee 36. 66. thūpikā 44. 139; 76. 105; 80. 20; 87. 66. chatta 33. 5; 35. 2; 36. 24, 65; 38. 54; 44. 133. vajiracumbūja 36. 66; 38. 71; 41. 95. — Mayūrapā, provisional pavilion, erected for various purposes: as a chapel 100. 227; for a sermon 98. 71 ff.; 100. 279; in connection with a pāsāda 14. 47; 27. 29 ff.; 36. 99, or with a temple 100. 185, 217, 243; ratanamā 27. 29; 37. 103. silāmpī 36. 102. thūpikā, chatta and vedikā of a mū 27. 30 f.; 100. 226. — f. Ornamentation of the buildings (the object itself or its representation in relief or in fresco-painting): pupphāpāñaghaṭa 30. 90; 32. 4. strings of pearls 27. 31; 30. 66 f., or of bells 27. 16, 27; 30. 66; 73. 68. ratnapadumāni 27. 41; 30. 68. — Figures (panki "rows") of animals 27. 30, 37; 30. 65; 100. 235, or of deities 27. 30; 30. 74 ff.; 89 ff., 92, or of sun, moon and stars 27. 33; 30. 68; 36. 66; or of sacred symbols 27. 37; 30. 65, 92;

36, 103. *aggbiyapanti* 30, 92. *pancañgulikapanti* 32, 4. — *Pupphalata* 30, 65; 73, 62; 100, 244, 255. *vijjullata* 30, 96. *üpalatikamma* 98, 70. — Painted representations of the sixteen sacred places 100, 253, 261, or of *jātakas* 30, 88; 97, 39–45, or of scenes from the life of the Buddhas 30, 78 ff.; 100, 261 ff.

b. Plastic art. Statues of the Buddha 35, 89; 38, 65, 86; 39, 6, 7, 10; 45, 61; 49, 14, 11; 51, 76; 52, 65; 53, 19; 78, 74 f.; 79, 78; 85, 10, 66; 88, 56; 90, 94; 92, 14; 98, 66; 100, 154, 245, 257. golden or gilded images 30, 72; 48, 137; 49, 77; 50, 34, 66; 51, 23, 48 f.; 55, 20; 61, 57; 100, 72, 75, 249. stone images 36, 104, 128; 37, 11; 38, 61; 42, 18; 44, 68; 51, 77; 52, 12; 53, 50; 85, 77; 100, 181. bronze images 36, 31; 37, 31. images made of stucco 100, 245. — Buddhist iconography 38, 62–4 with N.; 45, 61; 52, 26, 65; 63, 50; 73, 78; 98, 66. — Statues of Metteyya and of other bodhisattas 38, 68; 45, 62; 51, 77; 79, 75; 100, 248, 259; of Ananda, Sariputta, Moggallāna 39, 53; 51, 80; 100, 248; of Mahinda and of his companions 37, 68, 79, 87; 38, 58; of princes 39, 52; 88, 57; 100, 219. — Images of gods 30, 73 ff.; 86, 19; 90, 102; 100, 248, 259. *tīraka* images 78, 49; 85, 66. — Figures of animals 39, 52; 100, 252.

c. Graphic art (cf. the notice in a) Paintings on stuff 27, 18. a picture of the Buddha 85, 94 ff. — Mural paintings 78, 95 ff., 40, 52, 88; 90, 66, 90; 100, 244, 247 ff., 250 ff., 260 ff.

d. Special arts. Ivory work 37, 100 ff. — mosaic 51, 69. — figures moved by mechanism 85, 15 ff.

### VIII. Hindu religion and popular belief

**A. Hindu gods** (deva 18. 51; 32, 63 f.; 51, 108; 70, 223; 96, 39 &c., *apura* 93, 107, *sura* 72, 322; 100, 135. — 1. Hindu cult in C. 45, 55; 48, 113; 73, 71; 83, 49; 90, 101 f., *vedu* and *vedāṅga* 5, 107, 183; 10, 20; 62, 33; 64, 16. the brāhmaṇa caste see VII, 1, *brahmanical ceremonies* 62, 34, 45, 52 f., *bhatti* 74, 213; 85, 33, 70, 82, 121; 93, 9. Hinduism forcibly introduced 80, 75; 83, 9 f. Hindu temples (*devālāya*, -*thāma*) 37, 40; 79, 19, 22, 81; 88, 94, 119; 99, 45. — 2. Groups of gods: *tūvatiṇḍū*, *tettīpsū* and their heaven 27, 18; 30, 44, 89; 31, 79. *tusita* gods and their heaven 32, 72 f.; 33, 13, *dvattīpsū kumāriya* 30, 89; 31, 80. *brahma* gods 18, 51; 85, 15; 87, 11. planetary gods (*gaha*) 87, 1. — 3. the three great gods: *Brahmuk* 30, 74; 74, 197, 237; 89, 17 (the brahma world 5, 139; 19, 45; 31, 11). *Viṣṇu* (*mātara-sura* &c.) 7, 5; 83, 49; 85, 85 f.; 90, 102; 97, 46; 99, 42; 100, 248. (*Lakṣmi* 72, 101. *Āsāḍhi* festival 85, 89). *Siva* 73, 91; 74, 193; 93, 9 f. (*Cupu* 73, 161). — 4. Other gods: *Indra* (*Sakku*, *Devinda*, *Vikṣaya*, *Sejapatti*, *Pūkuśānuma*, *Sahussakkha*, *Nārūyaya*, *Vajirapāṇi*) 14, 185; 17, 13; 21, 31; 28, 6; 30, 71; 31, 31, 78; 37, 151; 39, 23; 47, 25; 51, 108; 62, 11; 65, 19; 72, 59, 168, 186, 205, 259, 328; 74, 206; 84, 12; 96, 37. his residence, his palace, his hall of justice, his garden 19, 183; 73, 70, 87; 74, 198, 206; 80, 5; 88, 121; 89, 5, 10. his trumpet 30, 74. his bow 85, 12. *Kuvera* (*Vessavaṇa*) 10, 89; 27, 29. his residence *Ālakā* 37, 106; 39, 6; 74, 207; 80, 5. his treasures 87, 31. *Skanda* 45, 45, 55; 57, 7. *Vissakamman* 18, 24; 28, 6 f.; 30, 11; 31, 34, 76; 73, 69. *Pajjuna* 21, 31; 85, 44 (devo *vassati* 21, 32; 36, 77). *Soma* 62, 5; 63, 14. *Bṛhaspati* 42, 3; 52, 38. *Sarastati* 73, 86. *Yama* 72, 249, 309; 75, 30. *Māra* 30, 75; 31, 85; 41, 48; 66, 99; 74, 237; 80, 70; 86, 9; 88, 81; 93, 17; 96, 42. *Nāmuci* 98, 96. the four *lokapāla* (*mahūrūjū*) 30, 89; 31, 79; 72, 39. minor gods 80, 15; 91, 78, 82. — 5. Demigods,

nymphs &c. Kandappa 77, 106, Kumbhaṇḍa 12, 20, Gundhukka 12, 20; 73, 163, necharā 25, 102; 27, 33, nāgā (bhūtjagā &c.) and garuḍa (sepaṇṇā) 1, 84; 5, 28; 12, 9 ff.; 14, 40; 19, 3, 19 ff.; 31, 19, 27 ff., 46 ff.; 50, 27; 75, 38; 83, 14, Nāga king Aravāla 12, 9, 15, 19, Kālānāga 5, 87; 30, 75; 31, 27, 46, 83, Mahānāga 41, 77 ff. Ananta 73, 120. Nāgas original inhabitants of C. 1, 45 ff., 63 ff., 71 ff.; 19, 35. — 6. Demons, asurā 1, 84; 51, 39; 72, 299; 96, 37; 99, 63, dānavā 75, 54, kimpurāś (-riyo) 5, 212; 78, 40, rakkhasā (-siyo) 12, 45 ff.; 15, 60; 39, 34; 54, 60; 72, 79; 83, 46, yakkhā (-iyo) 9, 23; 10, 84 ff.; 12, 20 ff.; 18, 52; 19, 3; 31, 81; 36, 82 ff.; 50, 36; 55, 21; 99, 125, y.s in bodily shape 10, 101; 14, 7, twenty-eight y.-chiefs 30, 90; 31, 81, the y. Kālavela 10, 81; 37, 41, y.s original inhabitants of C. 1, 20 ff.; 7, 9, 11, 30 ff.; 63, 12, pretā and bhūta 10, 101; 74, 115. — demons in animal shape 7, 9; 10, 53 ff.; 14, 3, or changing their shape 7, 26, or producing animal beings 10, 4. — Rāhu 83, 42.

**B. Popular belief.** 1. Spirits, local or tutelar deities (devatā, deva, devaputta, maru) 5, 27; 6, 13, 25; 15, 67, 81, 135, 165; 19, 19; 20, 41; 22, 19, 80; 23, 10; 27, 30; 30, 15, 50, 99; 31, 56, 83 ff., 93; 32, 63; 37, 238; 42, 51; 57, 32, 38; 70, 210; 80, 55; 99, 112, 153, tree spirits 1, 52; 5, 42; 10, 89, mountain deities 14, 3 (Sumanadeva 1, 33; 86, 19), gnomes 14, 38, chattamī devatā 28, 6, devatās in animal shape 28 ff., vyaṭhīdeva 10, 89, devapalli 57, 38, offerings to the d.s (jhali) 15, 67, 135; 36, 89, — 2. Magic art and witchcraft, Incantations, charms 41, 80 ff.; 51, 81; 52, 80; 57, 6 ff.; 66, 138, magic water and thread 7, 9; 73, 74, rag-trees 49, 27, magic remedies 46, 47, fending off the influence of evil spirits (santi) 85, 50, — Rainfall effected by charm 57, 189 ff.; 87, 1 ff. — Oracle, soothsaying, signs (nimitta) and their interpretation 6, 2; 8, 10, 14; 14, 53; 22, 46 ff., 68; 34, 66; 39, 22; 57, 38 ff., 56; 62, 38 ff.; 66, 132; 67, 29 ff., 32; 77, 48; Brahmins as soothsayers 9, 2, casting lots 25, 20 ff., — Dreams and their interpretation 62, 12 ff., 21 ff.; 66, 47 ff.; 95, 11 ff., — Bodily marks and their interpretation 5, 45; 22, 59; 36, 109; 48, 114; 57, 49; 59, 34 ff.; 62, 46 ff.; 81, 68 ff.

87, 92. — Astrology 35, 71; 57, 48; 100, 46, 51. auspicious and inauspicious constellations 19, 47; 29, 1; 31, 109; 62, 37, 55; 63, 47; 67, 31, 62, 91; 70, 240; 71, 28; 89, 39; 96, 13; 100, 191.

## IX. Buddhism

Buddha, dhamma, sangha (rabhutbaya, ratamabaya) 5, 81; 12, 28; 13, 18; 21, 8; 23, 13; 26, 23 f.; 64, 15; 87, 43; 90, 65; 91, 5, 9, 16; 92, 27; 97, 1; 98, 2; 99, 11; 100, 169, 201.

**A. Buddha.** 1. Bodily and mental qualities of a B. 3, 1, 6; 5, 91; 17, 46; 18, 22; 54, 29; 74, 2; 85, 51; 99, 67. former B.s 1, 5 ff.; 15, 41 ff.; 27, 11; 39, 51. future B.s 32, 73; 37, 242; 38, 68; 51, 77 f.; 52, 47; 80, 12; 87, 3; 100, 235. paccekabuddha 1, 55; 5, 50. — 2. Gotama B.: in former existences 42, 5. his life 1, 12 ff.; 2, 22; 3, 1 ff.; 35, 41; 51, 10; 73, 162; 74, 3. miracles performed by the B. 17, 44; 82, 29; 100, 272. his visits to C. 1, 19 ff.; 15, 160 ff.; 74, 2. his disciples 3, 4 ff.; 9 ff.; 37, 176; 39, 53; 51, 80; 85, 78 ff.; 107. the five great resolves 17, 46 ff.; 18, 22; 82, 33. titles of the B. 1, 57; 82, 17; 85, 100 f.; 90, 51.

**B. Dhamma.** 1. puñña, apuñña; kamma 32, 22 f.; 37, 51; 93, 15, 17; 94, 21 ff.; 95, 24 et passim. saṃsāra 22, 31 ff.; 30, 44; 32, 21, 81 ff.; 37, 152; 93, 11, 14; 100, 237 &c. three bhava 4, 66. gati, agati 37, 51 ff., 108; 80, 10. patti 42, 50 ff.; 44, 107; 52, 69; 100, 146, 159. — 2. The eightfold path 12, 42; 84, 32. compassion with living beings 85, 6; 49, 36; 52, 15, 28; 54, 32; 60, 74; 74, 20 f. — 2. Influence of Mahāyānism (cf. Pāmāravatī, Mahāyānism in Ceylon, C. J. Sc. G. II, p. 35 ff.) 1, 57; 50, 65; 80, 12; 82, 17; 85, 119; 85, 5-7; 87, 3; 90, 51. kings as bodhisattas 36, 90; 88, 35; 90, 48; 100, 136.

**C. Sangha** passim (cūṭībhūsa w<sup>o</sup> 32, 34; 45, 54; 73, 155; 79, 17. gāya "chapter" 60, 17; 89, 18, 57; = saṃgha 99, 66, 106). 1. Organisation of the order: pabbajā, upasampadā (see V, E, 5; M, tr., p. 291, 296) 5, 129 ff.; 12, 30 ff.;

14. 31 f.; 37. 210, 223; 57. 19; 81. 49 f.; 84. 37, 43; 87. 72; 89. 47 ff. &c. shaving of the head 5, 46; 16. 11. the yellow robe 5, 229; 14. 13; 18. 10. cripples not admitted 57. 19. pabbajī of nuns 15. 19 ff. — pañca sahādharmika 80. 60; sūmūpāra 13. 4; 22. 25; 31. 119 &c.; 99. 25, 80, 169, 173; 100. 44, 96 ff., 208. bhikkhu passim (sacca 14. 8; 26. 21; 30. 37; 33. 94; 66. 114; 67. 94; 97. 14. yati 37. 175; 53. 15); 57. 19; 89. 58 ff.). — therā, mahātherā 37. 218; 89. 64 et passim, ayyaka 46, 69. yatissara 67. 61, 80. — bhikkhuni 5. 198 ff., 208; 19. 68, 78 ff.; 26. 15 &c. therī 19. 65, 77. — nissaya 36. 112. upajjhāya (antevāsin) 5. 69, 206, 208. ācariya (sāvakā) 5. 70, 208. — the bhāupūjāgūrūka 89. 58. — bhikkhus living in villages or in the wilderness 52. 19, 22; 53. 14 ff.; 54. 20; 57. 32; 84. 18, 22; 99. 170. tapodhāna, tapussin 53. 14 ff.; 54. 20; 89. 57; 91. 25. wandering bhikkhus 98. 15. — retirement from the order 98. 14 ff. occupations not allowed to bh.s 84. 7; 100. 45 ff. kulasāmsagga 33. 95. — exclusion 5. 270 ff.; 37. 39; 94. 22. cremation of dead bh.s 20. 34 ff., 63 f., 47, 53; 100. 148. — titles granted to bh.s: sāmin (mānas, sāsanaś &c.) 52. 20; 53. 23; 81. 76; 86. 38; 89. 64. sāmpathātherā 4. 56; 37. 45. sāmpathāya 100. 69, 108. rājaguru 90. 81.

2. Necessaries of a bh: ēatupacceyā 3. 14; 5. 196; 22. 21; 33. 94; 37. 76 N.; 51. 122; 60. 10, 15, 69; 84. 16; 89. 50; 90. 41; 94. 20; 97. 11; 98. 22; 99. 26. aṭṭha parikkhāra (sūmūgukā p<sup>o</sup>) 4. 26 N.; 20. 24; 26. 21; 30. 37, 39; 54. 25; 60. 71; 84. 21, 39, 41; 85. 39; 88. 52; 89. 66 f.; 91. 21, 33; 97. 8; 99. 89. lievāra, elacīvara 33. 26; 34. 7, 84; 85. 77; 36. 46, 110, 131; 41. 29; 91. 23, 33; 100. 132. patta 14. 52; 24. 26 ff.; 35. 7. parissatavā 35. 7 f. dhammikaraka 22. 68. akklemālā 46. 17; 57. 6.

3. The vihāra. Four vihāras 33. 37; 54. 5, 34, 54. aṭṭha mūlavihāra 61. 59. upphayantānī 84. 4, 18. assama 72, 145. bhikkhūnūpāsaya 18. 11 f.; 20. 21; 37. 43 &c. arama 10. 10 f.; 15. 185; 19. 41; 24. 13 (cf. 23. 23); 29. 32 &c. — sāma 14. 32; 15. 184 ff.; 78. 56 ff.; 100. 129, 287, 291. sāmāsūnugghāta 37. 36 f., 50. pukara 36. 8, 37; 78. 51, 91; 100. 217, 265 &c.

— Component parts of a v. (49, 82; 60, 11 ff.; 78, 32 ff., 49 ff., 70 ff., 79 ff.; 79, 13 ff., 62 ff.; 84, 18 ff.; 85, 24; 86, 50 ff.; 100, 240 ff., 282 ff.); *maghaka* 16, 29, 36 ff.; 16, 15; 32, 58 &c. *bodhi tree* 34, 91; 37, 91; 48, 5; 49, 15; 68, 28; 79, 16, 62, 72; 85, 2, 70; 86, 51; 90, 90. — the 'bodhi tree of Bo-gaya' 16, 22; 17, 17, 47 ff.; 18, 34 ff., 42; 19, 40, 56; 20, 4 ff.; 37, 246. — the *bodhi tree* in the *Mahāvihāra*, *Ānurādhapura* 17, 30, 40; 19, 4 ff.; 19, 1 ff.; 20, 1; 23, 28; 28, 1; 34, 58 ff.; 36, 52, 100, 126; 37, 55; 38, 55, 57, 67, 69; 41, 29, 32, 91; 42, 66; 44, 45, 65; 48, 70, 124; 51, 78; 52, 11, 24. — its eight *saplings* 19, 60-2. — the b. trees of former Buddhas 16, 78, 112, 147. — *pāvāna-vedī*, *sikū-vā* round a *bodhi tree* 36, 52, 100; 37, 91; 42, 19; *hedhikrotphaka* 79, 72. — *devaratnāga* 36, 103, 126. *hedhīghara* 15, 205; 37, 15, 31; 38, 43, 69; 41, 65; 42, 19, 66; 48, 70; 49, 15, 74; 51, 54; 53, 10; 60, 62; 79, 72. — *thūpā* or *cetiya* (see VII, C, 12, v) 17, 37 ff.; 26, 8 ff.; 29, 1 ff.; 38, 51 &c. — *thūpaghara*, *cetiya* 31, 60; 35, 87, 90 ff.; 36, 9, 106; 48, 66. — Single buildings: dwelling house for the priests (*pāsūda*, *ārūpa* &c.) 27, 9 ff.; 36, 11; 40, 11, 57; 78, 33 ff., 49 ff., 67, 81 ff.; 90, 96; 92, 11; 100, 297. — *gahā*, *lēsa* 3, 19; 16, 12; 20, 16; 38, 32, 66, 74 ff. — *parivena* 16, 204, 206 ff.; 36, 57, 88; 36, 8, 10; 57, 20; 78, 36, 71. — *relic temple* 37, 15; 46, 29; 78, 41; 85, 75; 90, 66 ff.; 94, 14; 97, 36 ff.; 98, 25, 35. — *image house* (*paṭimōgha* &c.) 35, 89; 37, 15, 183; 60, 83; 68, 28; 78, 53 ff., 85 ff.; 85, 77; 86, 50; 88, 56; 90, 99; 98, 67; 100, 295. — *dhammasāla* 78, 42, 73; 79, 21; 98, 78 (*dhammāsana*, *therikāna* 3, 22, 35; 44, 115; 85, 46). — *upasathaghara*, *āgīra* 16, 37; 34, 20; 35, 85; 36, 16, 107; 37, 201; 51, 70; 78, 56; 92, 16; 100, 93, 287. — *puddhānghara* &c. 36, 106; 37, 292; 39, 48; 42, 46; 44, 119; 46, 11. — *aggisāla* 78, 40, 51, 71, 86. — *potthukālaya* 78, 37. — *dāmasāla* 37, 182; 78, 150. — *āgantukasāla* 79, 20, 22, 63, 80. — *bhāttasāla*, *bhojanasāla* 16, 205; 20, 23; 36, 12; 78, 42 (*bhāttasāra* 37, 181 N.; 42, 67). — *salākagga* 16, 205; 36, 74; 49, 32. — *anikṣamana* 16, 208; 78, 42. — *mātūnakotphaka* 78, 15 ff., 84. — *vacevaluṇi* 78, 43, 50, 86. — Servants and officials in a v. (*ārūnika* &c.) 37, 63, 173; 46, 14, 28; 52, 26; 57, 21; 78, 4 N.; 88, 58; 97, 55; 98, 27; 100, 218. — *dāsa* 46, 10, 20; 80, 36, 40; 100, 11.

4. Duties of the bhikkhus, vihāra-life. Dasasilang 18, 19. — Scholarly studies 20, 80; 100, 178. tepiṭaka 5, 84, 275; 27, 44; 78, 7. — Performing of ecclesiastical acts: dhammikamma 39, 57 (cf. VI, E, 5); kammarūpā 5, 207. — Recitation of sacred texts 3, 33, 36; 41, 58 f.; gāyatrījñāna 31, 86; 32, 11, 63; 34, 49. preaching of the doctrine (dhamma-dana 98, 77 ff.; 99, 15, 21); dhammadesanā, -desaka, -kathika &c. 14, 22, 58; 15, 4 &c.; 32, 45; 35, 92; 60, 20; 85, 46 f.; 98, 73, 79; 99, 18 f., 170; 100, 275 (mūḍhapas erected for the preachers 98, 72; 99, 16). seats prepared for the prs 4, 51; 98, 18. fans in the hands of the prs 85, 46; 98, 73). — kūlupaka, -ga 30, 40; 36, 116. — Ceremonies performed by the bls: vassā, antovassā 1, 14; 3, 15; 16, 8; 17, 1; 18, 2; 100, 131. uposatha 5, 2-35, 273; 13, 14, 18; 29, 63; 32, 41; 35, 76; 36, 16; 51, 83; 43, 29; 74, 20; 100, 131 (pāṭihariyapakkha 37, 202) (cf. IX, C, 2: uposathaghara). pāvāraṇā 5, 235, 280; 17, 1; 20, 24; 31, 62; 37, 90; 100, 132. kathina 44, 48; 85, 39 ff.; 86, 46 ff.; 91, 34; 100, 132. paritta 46, 5; 51, 80; 52, 80; 62, 31; 87, 5; 99, 26. — Ceremonies performed in buildings erected in water (odakukkhupasīvā) 78, 28 ff.; 87, 71; 89, 47, 76; 94, 17; 97, 12. — Higher attainments. upanissaya (marks of future-holiness) 5, 45, 172, 194. padhāna 36, 105; 42, 48 (cf. IX, C, 2: padhānaghara). kammarūpā 5, 118. meditation, trance (jhāna) 5, 123, 220; 15, 209; 23, 63; 35, 104; 88, 55. vipassana, -ssaka 5, 152; 19, 46; 99, 170; 100, 174. — The path of salvation (sotisātti &c.) 13, 17; 19, 18; 23, 61; 27, 41; 29, 68; 31, 101. anāsava, khīnasa 5, 112; 29, 51 f.; 28, 24; 29, 6. arahant, -hatta 1, 14; 5, 46, 172, 214; 14, 14, 33; 16, 11, 17; 19, 46, 65 f.; 23, 63; 25, 104; 26, 5; 29, 68 ff.; 31, 95, 100; 84, 25; 86, 13. bodhi 34, 49. bodhi 1, 37; 5, 174; 12, 15; 13, 19; 14, 14; 30, 99; 32, 15. abhiñna 4, 12; 5, 152, 275; 13, 4; 14, 14; 22, 34; 52, 38. — Theras as soothsayers 14, 169 ff. miracles performed by ths 5, 258 ff.; 12, 10 f., 49 f.; 13, 19; 14, 35; 15, 38 ff.; 31, 85; 32, 15. nirvana of ths 5, 219, 226 f.; 20, 33.

5. Cull. Inauguration of a monastic building 26, 14 ff.; 36, 1-30. music and dance at festival occasions 5, 181; 34, 60. —

Vesākha-festival 1, 12; 32, 35; 34, 59; 35, 100; 36, 40, 109, 130; 44, 46; 51, 84. Rājāha-festival 99, 53. abhisēka (net-tupūjā, netta-maha, akkhipūjā) 5, 94; 38, 58; 39, 7; 109, 187, 191, 204 f., 235, 267. Cf. EZ, II, p. 254. — traces of a temple ritual: the Buddha-image or a relic of the B. is treated as the living master (buddhavatthūna 34, 61) 38, 61; 52, 26; 53, 30; 58, 35; 90, 77 ff.; 97, 161; 100, 182. — Relic-cult (sārīrikā dhatu-yo 17, 12; 80, 69; 99, 58. paribhogikā dh. 55, 17; 82, 18, 34); dāyādhātu 17, 14; 37, 92 ff.; 38, 8, 70 f.; 42, 33; 44, 45; 51, 22; 54, 5, 45; 57, 22; 60, 16; 61, 56, 61; 64, 30; 70, 266, 310; 72, 301; 73, 128; 74, 38, 84, 88, 103, 126, 142, 147, 165, 167, 183 ff., 193, 198 ff., 226, 246; 81, 17 ff., 26 ff., 33 f., 77; 82, 6 ff., 40 ff.; 84, 13; 85, 25, 33, 92, 111; 86, 54 ff.; 87, 5, 69, 74; 88, 10, 15, 65; 89, 16–46; 90, 41, 16 f., 54 f., 67, 72, 77; 91, 12, 19; 92, 9; 94, 11 ff.; 95, 2, 9 ff., 21; 97, 4 ff., 26, 52; 98, 8, 25, 37 ff., 94; 99, 58, 63, 68, 86, 105, 123, 141, 143 ff., 166; 100, 1 ff., 12, 22 ff., 40 ff., 124 (an image of the d. 100, 153, 157). patindhātu 17, 12; 20, 13; 38, 48, 55; 37, 192; 61, 56, 61; 64, 30; 70, 266, 310; 72, 301; 74, 38, 84, 88, 103, 126, 142, 147, 165, 167, 183 ff., 210, 226; 81, 17 ff., 77; 83, 25, 33; 87, 69, 74; 88, 10, 66; 89, 16–46; 90, 72. dakkhiṇākhanakadhatu 17, 14, 20, 24, 37 ff., 50; 37, 207 ff.; 42, 53 ff.; 64, 30. kesadhatu 39, 49 ff.; 44, 45; 50, 71; 54, 41; 64, 30. givāṭhādhatu 20, 19; 64, 30. — the reliques of the Mahāthūpa 17, 51; 31, 16 ff., 15 ff. reliques of theras 20, 41; 85, 80. — Miracles performed by reliques 17, 25 ff., 43, 51 f.; 31, 97 ff.; 82, 41 ff. — Reliquaries (anāgata, kāraṇḍaṇa) 31, 77, 87 f.; 50, 71; 76, 115; 85, 27; 88, 21; 90, 72; 91, 18 ff.; 92, 14; 97, 6, 53 f.; 98, 27 ff., 91; 99, 160, 165; 100, 19 ff. — Relic feasts 88, 16; 90, 41, 57, 75; 95, 2; 97, 25; 99, 68; 100, 8 &c.

C. History of the Saṅgha. The three councils 3, 5 ff.; 4, 9 ff.; 5, 228 ff. Buddhist sects 5, 1 ff. (cf. M. tr., p. 276 ff.). theravāda, ācariyavāda 5, 2; 37, 227; 52, 46; 54, 46 f. &c. vibhūjivāda 5, 271 f. mātubhāṣyaghīra 5, 1; 50, 68. — Schisms in C. 23, 95 ff.; 37, 2 ff. — church-reforms see VI, E, 5. — tayo-nikāya 41, 97 and N.; 44, 131; 45, 16; 46, 16; 48, 73; 51, 14,

64, 103; 52, 10, 12, 35, 80; 54, 4, 27; 55, 20; 60, 10, 13, 56; 70, 181, 328; 73, 5, 12, 20; 76, 74; 78, 5, 10. *dve nikāyā* 46, 15. *dhammūnuciā* 5, 13; 38, 75; 52, 17 f. *vetullavāda* 36, 41, 111; 42, 35; 78, 22. *sigalikā* 5, 13; 39, 41; 42, 43; 52, 7. *dhammudhūta* 41, 37-40. *sassatadūghi* 5, 269. *ubhuyasāsana* (= *hūna-* and *mañiyāna*) 84, 10 (cf. IX, B, 2). — *Asceetic groups of bh.s in C:* *pāpukūlīna* 47, 66; 48, 4; 49, 80; 50, 63, 76; 51, 52; 52, 21, 27; 53, 23, 48; 54, 18, 24, 25; 61, 59. *lābhavāsīna* 54, 27; 60, 68, 72. *vantajivakī* 60, 69. *lāpavāsīna* 41, 93 N.; 52, 22; 53, 14 ff.; 54, 20. — *Bhikkhus in the Ceja and Pañja country* 36, 112 ff.; 89, 67; 90, 89. *foreign bh.s fetched to C.* 60, 5 f.; 84, 9, 11 ff.; 94, 15; 97, 10; 98, 89 E.; 100, 58 ff., 122 ff. — *Persecution of the order by Rājasīha I.* 93, 10 ff.; 100, 220 ff. by the Paratigis 95, 7 ff. by the Olandas 99, 112 ff., 125. — *Non-buddhist sects:* *tīthiyā* 5, 74. *Jaṭilā* 1, 16. *nigṛuphā* 10, 97 ff.; 33, 43, 79; 39, 20. *paribbajaka* 7, 6; 8, 11; 10, 101. *ītapañ* 7, 11; 66, 195 f. *ājivakā* 10, 102.

7. *The Trinity* (*upāsaka, -sikā* 89, 100), *ariyā:* *pathujjana* 5, 113. *conversions* 1, 32, 33; 12, 19 ff., 27 ff.; 14, 23, 40, 58, 64; 19, 46. *sarāga, stū* 1, 32, 62; 14, 23, 40; 22, 69; 25, 110; 35, 75; 36, 73; 54, 29; 98, 121; 100, 290. *uposatha news* ff. 6; 35, 76; 97, 202 ff.; 99, 18; 48, 10; 60, 21; 97, 19; 98, 15; 100, 131. *padakkhīnup kar* 18, 96; 29, 48; 31, 94; 37, 196; 72, 328. — *Sacrificial offerings to the community or to a sanctuony:* *pūjā, dāna* 17, 62; 32, 35; 34, 57, 59; 35, 74 ff. 44, 46; 54, 37, 39; 64, 15; 70, 190 ff.; 85, 26, 70, 112-6; 89, 19 ff.; 90, 73 ff.; 97, 29 ff.; 98, 52 ff., 58 ff., 76; 100, 211, 225 &c. *pūjopakaraṇī* 70, 193 f., 198; 98, 93 (*sākha* 70, 194; 100, 190). *pubhenturyāni* 70, 194; 95, 54; 100, 7, 31, 190. *setacchatta* &c. 70, 194; 98, 52; 99, 45; 100, 31, 193. *dhajaparataṇī* 70, 194; 99, 57; 100, 187. *pūttaghāṭī* 29, 48; 30, 90; 32, 4; 98, 96; 100, 188. ( Cf. also VI, C, 9). *pūjīvattīnī* 97, 33; 98, 54, 75; 99, 22, 56; 100, 124, 146, 197, 205 f. (*food, garments, carpets &c.* 30, 96 f.; 31, 113; 32, 35, 39; 33, 72; 34, 62; 35, 77 ff., 92 ff.; 36, 100, 131; 51, 61; 85, 116; 90, 73; 92, 27; 97, 29; 98, 10 f., 15; 99, 26; 100, 10, 195, 205 &c.

cf. *catupaccayā*, *āthapariikkhaṇā*, *ticvara*, *chaṭivara* in IX, C, 2; *kathina* in IX, C, 4, *salākabhatta* (cf. *salākagga* IX, C, 3); 27, 11; 34, 64; 48, 53. — medicaments 22, 30, 37; 60, 70; 98, 10; 100, 3, 196. — flowers, perfumes, incense 15, 27 f.; 22, 30, 37; 30, 27; 85, 70, 81; 90, 73; 92, 16; 97, 29; 98, 8 ff., 64, 75; 99, 56; 100, 3, 33, 197. — valuables, gold, jewels &c. 17, 62; 36, 125 f.; 61, 56; 85, 191; 97, 28; 98, 11, 33, 53; 99, 37; 100, 9, 31 f. — elephants, horses, cattle, buffalos 90, 76; 92, 29; 98, 53; 99, 37; 100, 42. — slaves, male and female 46, 10, 20; 80, 36, 40; 90, 76; 100, 11. — lamps and oil 32, 41; 92, 16 f.; 98, 75; 100, 33. lamp-fests, illuminations 32, 37; 35, 79; 76, 119; 85, 40 f., 70 f., 84, 116; 86, 31; 98, 60 ff., 84). — Festival processions in honour of a sanctuary see VII, C, 10. Covering of a *thūpa* with costly stuffs 33, 10 f.; 34, 42, 46 ff., 74; 44, 44; 54, 37, 42. — Donations of land, tanks and fields 34, 63; 35, 83, 117 f., 120; 36, 3; 85, 120 f.; 88, 52; 90, 76 &c. maintenance villages (*bhogagāma*) 46, 14 f.; 49, 21, 26 ff.; 52, 46; 53, 31; 60, 66 ff., 72 f.; 61, 54; 84, 3 ff.; 85, 58; 90, 87, 97 &c. — Ceremonies connected with donations 15, 25; 26, 18; 27, 46. — Pilgrimages 66, 136; 80, 24; 85, 118; 86, 1, 9 ff.; 88, 48; 92, 15-8; 97, 15, 27 ff.; 99, 36 ff.; 100, 125 ff. the sixteen sacred places in C, 1, 77 ff.; 100, 128, 253. the sacred foot-print on the summit of the *Samannakūṭa* 1, 77; 60, 64; 85, 118 ff.; 86, 10, 28 ff.; 88, 48; 97, 18; 98, 84; 100, 221 ff. the same in Siam 100, 160, 253.

## Additions and Corrections

### I. Mahāvamsa ed.

2. 11. Put; after Okkukā, and read *parvittā* instead of *pa-*  
*pattā*.

4. 30 d. Read: *tampakkhangūhi*.

5. 169. Put comma instead of full stop at the end of the  
 verse.

6. 170. Read: *tassa-tassa* and put full stop after *titikāto*.  
 Pāda c begins *Yācītvā*.

19. 3 c. Read: *seyinap*.

19. 70 d. Read: *vidū*.

23. 11 c. Read: *sahoñjharp*.

33. 8 c. Read: *Velāngavittibikarp*.

35. 11 a. Read: *sahoñhe*.

35. 13 a. Read: *Gopakanadītire*.

35. 113 a. Read: *Gopunadiyū*.

36. 7 c. Read: *Ratanajāśādūp* (proper noun).

37. 45 b. Expunge the comma after *so*.

p. 337, col. 2, line 30. Read *Kukkuṭārāmu*, a monastery in  
 I. 5. 122; in C. 37. 15.

p. 339, col. 2, line 10. Add *Gopakupadi* 35. 13, 113.

p. 344, col. 1, line 29. Add 14. 44 after *Puṭheano* *thūpo*.

p. 349, col. 1, line 20. Add *Ratannpāśādo*, a building in A.  
 36. 7.

p. 350, col. 1, line 25. Add *Vattaniya*, a monastery in I.  
 29. 40.

p. 350, col. 1, line 44. Read: a monastery in I. (instead of C.).

p. 353, col. 2. Expunge the last article *Honakanadi*.

p. 356, line 19. Read: *sahoñjharp* *gaññati* cf. skr. *sabodha*.

## II. Cūlavamsa ed. I

37. 79. Put the whole verse between marks of suspension.  
It is a parenthesis.

37. 103. Pat: after ratanamayadapuri.

37. 114 d. Read: *anāgo regiti niechayamp.*

37. 202 ab. We have probably to read: cātūddesirūp pañca-  
dusinī yā ca pakkhussa uññhañī.

37. 206 b. Read: *coraŋ tulliyamp*, oggabē &c.

38. 3 b. Read: *chuttugñakajantuno*.

38. 29 c d. Read: *ceto, putto Parindo pi, tatiya tassa bhātuko* &c.

38. 60 d. Read: *attāñ instead of attano*.

38. 65. I propose to read: *Ākāsi pañimāgeho Bahumangal-  
cetiyē | bodhisatte ca, tatthāpi Kālaelussa satthuno* &c.

38. 77 b. Read: *kamalobajorū*.

38. 79 c d. Read: *ko hi nāma samatho? ti mukhamattam  
nidassitum*.

38. 88 c. Read: *rūjakule*.

41. 82 c d. Read: *gahetvā khipi; tib' evamp aṅgulihī sa tāp  
chupi*.

41. 89 b. Expunge the comma after *vasanī*.

41. 96 b. Read: *Uttare instead of uttare*.

44. 51 b. Add the note: "vihitrakom all MSS. and Ed.

44. 56 b. Read *Janapadap* (it is proper noun).

44. 90 b. Read: *sakkū hantap ti dāññikap*.

44. 123 c. Read: *'parajjhitvā*.

47. 66. Read p. 89<sup>2</sup>: *tatthī* eva.

48. 20 d. We have probably to read: *pubbavuttito* instead  
of *-no*.

49. 17 d—18. Read: *pañimāgo ca kāryī || pāsade ottiyē c' eva  
&c. with full stop after anayapake*.

49. 78 d. Expunge the full stop after *avayolokiya*.

49. 81 b. Expunge the comma after *sāññhukap*.

50. 34 a b. Read: *Pāsade Ratane sabbasorayyapamp satthu-  
bimbakom*.

56. 48 d. Read: *'samo instead of same*.

51. 88 d. Read: Kuṭṭhaka<sup>2</sup> instead of Tuṭṭhaka<sup>2</sup>.

54. 57 a. Read: taṃ rājapī.

56. 6 c. Read: Devanagarīpī (it is proper noun).

59. 2 a. Read: >Abhisekamangalatthampī pūsādāśīpī &c.

59. 49 b. Read: Sundacirīpī.

61. 4 d. Read: 'khīla instead of khīlā.

61. 46 a. We have probably to read: Ariyadesī.

61. 51 c. Note. Read: thū instead of ṗhā.

61. 53 d. Read: 'khīgatā instead of khīpā<sup>2</sup>.

65. 6 c. Read: Paṭīluddhā.

66. 26 c. Read: kumārapī.

66. 56 a. Perhaps we should read: Nānāhassarasañcūsā.

66. 59 d. I propose to read ten' sto instead of te tato.

66. 80 d. Read: Kanamburāpī.

66. 143 a. Read: 'opāya<sup>2</sup> instead of 'opayā<sup>2</sup>.

70. 54 a. Read: Rājaraṭṭhūpī (it is proper noun).

70. 98 d. Read: Ambarūnāpī instead of Ambū<sup>2</sup>.

70. 103 a. Read: Janapadāpī.

70. 112 d. Read: gaṅgāpīsso instead of Gaṅgā<sup>2</sup>.

70. 120 a. Read: gaṅgājīlapī instead of Gaṅgā<sup>2</sup>.

70. 181 c. Read: vast' kuritasupīdbhū.

72. 58 a. Read: Ārakthā<sup>2</sup> instead of Ārakthū.

72. 106 d. Expunge > before and after sāvathāgnāpī.

72. 121-2. Put: at the end of v. 121 and > before Bili-  
javhayumhi.

72. 127 b. Expunge > before sakulūpātivābīpī.

72. 170 d. Read: Kālāpīyāpī.

### III. Cūlavamsa ed. II

Introd. p. III, l. 6. Read: anxious.

73. 96 c-d. Read: nayañā nandanañāpī.

73. 145 d. Expunge the comma after matthīpī.

74. 46 a. Read: Rājaraṭṭhūpī.

74. 64 d. Read: un dassāmāti subbathū<sup>2</sup> &c.

74. 149 c. Expunge > before yasūpī.

74. 150 c. Put > before cāludisikhañūpī.

74. 206 d. Read: maggāniggaṇicakkhaṇo.

75. 24 b. Read: yuddhakilantakam.

76. 124 c. Read: So Kāṇekudiyā<sup>a</sup>.

76. 130 a. Read: So Kāṇekudiyā<sup>a</sup>.

76. 157 a. Read: Dampile neke.

76. 190 b. Read: "pperūmālām.

76. 192-3. Read: vissutam || etth' antare &c.

76. 223 a. Read: "pperūmālo.

76. 232 a. Read: "pperūmālo.

76. 316 a. Read: Virappperayaram.

77. 52 b. Read: jhūpētrā.

78. 38 d. Put; at the end of the verse.

78. 39 b. Expunge; after akkhirasāyaṇap.

80. 33 d. Read: Srājatulavāṇḍhāṇo.

80. 37 c. Read: Khundhāvara<sup>a</sup>.

80. 39 b. Read: Surājatulavāṇḍhāṇoap.

82. 37 ab. Read: piṇḍanto , bhagavān nūpacakkhūn tesa  
māṇi pi ta<sup>a</sup> &c.

85. 56 a. Read: mahāvihāram, not Mahīt<sup>a</sup>.

86. 17 d. Read: taṇṭampūṇakriyāsa.

86. 18 b. Read: Gaṅgasiripurap.

88. 22 b. Read: dakkhiyasmīn disanure.

90. 82 b. Expunge the comma after tadnūtaraṇap.

91. 24 d. Read: Sunettaparivayukṣap.

91. 25 c.d. Put comma after pūjetrā and expunge it after  
taṇṭapūṇap.

93. 7 a. Read: tassa dhammāṇi instead of tass' adhammāṇi.

97. 18 a. Read: skūṭācāla<sup>a</sup>.

98. 61 a. Expunge \* after kureṇū and insert it after  
ekāhe ta.

98. 95 d. Expunge the full stop after ḥito.

99. 29 d. Expunge the comma after so.

99. 80 d. Read: yav' etarnhi.

99. 89 d. Read: parikkhūrūni.

99. 107 b. Read: Lāñkāṇap.

100. 15 d. Put comma after narūḍhipo.

100. 16 b. Expunge the comma after varap.

100. 44 n. Insert; after so.

101. 14 c. Read: *surpmānesi*.

p. 601, col. 1, ult. Read: 73. 62, 114; 78. 77; 89. 45.

p. 609, col. 2, Devanagara. Add: 56. 6.

p. 612, col. 1, line 29. Add: *Pajjanna*, the Hindu rain-god 85. 44.

p. 612, col. 2, line 13. Add: *Pupphiyāñjāra*, a D. chief 76. 173.

p. 613, col. 2, line 12. Expunge 18 and insert 88. 18 on the following line after 87. 16.

p. 620, col. 1, *Mahāśūlaṅgadgā*. Add: 78. 28.

p. 623, col. 2, line 4 from below: *Hatañāvalicetiya*. Add: 80. 20; a thūpa in Khiragūnū 79. 71.

p. 624, col. 1. Expunge the article *Rājākulavajjhama*.

p. 624, col. 1, *Rājaratṭha*. Add: 74. 46.

p. 630, col. 1. After *Sarassatimṇḍapā* insert the article *Sarājukulavajjhama*, a *purīya* built by *Āyusnānuta* 80. 39 (cf. 80. 33).

p. 632, col. 2. Add after *Sudhammā* the article: *Susetrupurivepa*, a monastic building erected by *Parakkanaśāhū VI*. 91. 24.

p. 632, col. 2. Expunge the article *Sundari* and add after *Sundarapabbata*: *Sundari*, a Kalinga princess 99. 49.

p. 642, line 31. Add: \**Mañña*, s. m., the moon 95. 17. — Cf. skr. *līhipraygi*.

p. 644, line 4. Add: *dhāni*, s. m. sound, noise 99. 60. — skr. *dhāni*, Ch., Abhp. 128.

p. 650, line 19. Add: \**rakkhīn*, adj., protecting, guarding; *saññedānīmā* 100. 248. — skr. *rakṣīn*.

p. 652, line 5. Add: \**vippahālīga*, s. n. a spark of fire 72. 84; 75. 110; 95. 14. — skr. *vīphālīga*, Ch., Abhp. 35.

p. 654, line 27. Add: \**sāthīcīra*, s. n. art of poetry 82. 3. — skr. *sāthīya*.

p. 657. To make agree this list of kings with that in C. tr. II, Introduction expunge the separate numbers 90 and 92 of Līlārati's second and third reign, and then read 90 instead of 91, and 91, 92, 93 &c. up to 125 instead of 93, 94 &c. up to 127.

IV. *Mahavamsa*, tr.

Introd. p. XXXVI ff. Wickeleisen's Chronological Table of Ceylon kings in EZ. III, p. 4 ff. differs somewhat from my list of kings. As nr. 5 he adds after *Papulchäbhinna* the name of *Gagatissa* which does not occur in the *Mhv.*, and therefore nos. 6-28 in W.'s list correspond to 5-27 of my list. Instead of nos. 28-32 Wicke. has only nr. 29 *Anulā*, omitting the names of the paramours of this queen. Nos. 30-48 correspond to 33-61 of my list. In *Cūlavamsa* trsl. II, Introduction I accepted Wicke's table.

2. 11. Translate the verse thus: and sixteen even unto Oshika. These (kings) who are mentioned in groups reigned in due order, each one in his capital — and add the note: We must with the *Tikkī* read *parmita* instead of *paripatī*.

5. 69. The note 4 on page 31 is indeed misleading (Wickeleisen EZ. II, p. 276). Read thus: *Upajjhaya*. Every novice on his entrance into the order chooses an *upajjhaya* "spiritual preceptor" and an *acariya* "teacher". The former instructs him in the rules of the monkish life, the latter in the study of the holy scriptures. In his relation to the *upajjhaya* the novice is called *agadditikāruka*, and *antariśika* in his relation to the *acariya*.

5. 139. Read: after it had been perfumed, instead of for better care thereof.

7. 43. Page 58, note 3 read *Malrata-oya* inst. of *Malvatte-oya*.

9. 28. Read *Citta* instead of *Cittī*.

10. 53. The note 1 on page 72 is wrong. Read thus: According to v. 62 foll. not far from the *Knechakatītha* (see note to v. 58), on the right bank of the *Mahaveliganga*. The *Dhūmarakkhapabbata* is also mentioned *Mah.* 37. 213. It is identical with the *Dimbulagala* (anciently *Udumbaragiri*, cf. *Cūlav.* tr. II, p. 102, note to 78. 5), the so-called "Gunner's Quoin". H. Stoney, *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* III, p. 229).

10. 90. To Yousou add the note: See E. R. Ayres, *Ceylon Notes and Queries* I, Oct. 1913, p. VIII.

11. 10 ff. As to *yaṣṭi* Professor N. Law (letter of 3rd April 1930) calls my attention to skr. *yaṣṭi* in the meaning "necklace", occurring in the Kaṭṭaliyā Arthaśāstra 2. 11, 29 (p. 76 of SUĀKA SĀSTRA's edition). Accordingly we should translate thus:

(10) At the foot of the Chāta mountain there appeared<sup>1)</sup> three cane-like necklaces of the size of a chariot whip.  
 (11) Of them one was a creeper-necklace of bright silver; on this might be seen brilliant delightful creepers of golden colour<sup>2)</sup>. (12) One was a flower-necklace<sup>3)</sup>; on this again might be seen flowers of many kinds, of manifold colours, in full bloom. (13) At last, one was a bird-necklace<sup>4)</sup> whereon might be seen numbers of birds and beasts of various colours, as if they were living.

Notes: <sup>1)</sup> P. *yaṣṭi*. — <sup>2)</sup> Perhaps *śatāgāvatiṣṭu* "with golden leaves". — <sup>3)</sup> P. *kesumayaṣṭi*, commonly called *puspādmā*, a string made of golden flowers. — <sup>4)</sup> I. e. a necklace formed by a string of birds made of gold and other precious metals. Cf. also the description of the various necklaces in the Kaṭṭaliyā 1. 1.

11. 22. Here we should translate: Those three kinds of precious stones and the three chariot-like<sup>1)</sup> necklaces &c &c. — with Note 1); Refers to *rathapadodana samanā parināyata* in v. 10.

11. 26. Read: the rank of general, instead of the rank of staff-bearer — and add the note: In *dayūnayaka* the word *dayū* means "army", and *nayaka* "leader". Cf. Culav. tr. I, p. XXVI.

15. 4 (p. 96, N. 2). The note should run thus: I. e. "the discourse of the fool and the wise man" = Majjhima, Nr. 129 (III. 163).

15. 38 (p. 100, l. 12). Read mango-fruit instead of mango-tree.

17. 31 (p. 118, l. 25-6). Read: was covered with kadamba-pupphas and tilāri-creepers — and add in note 3 after This creeper: (skr. *kalambapuspā*; the name seems to prove that the flowers of this creeper remind those of the kadamba-tree).

19. 73, 75 (p. 134, l. 11 and 17). Read Kadambapuppha-thicket.

22. 7. Expunge in note 3 the words: Tradition seems &c., and add: Cf. on Yatalhalena H. C. P. Bell., Kégalla-District, p. 35-6.

24. 22 (p. 165, N. 5). The note should run thus: According to local tradition the battle took place near Yulagannava 1½ miles NNW. of Buttala. The spot is marked by a thūpa (now in ruins).

24. 39. To come to a vihāra (p. 167, l. 18) add the note: According to popular tradition this vihāra was that of Okkampitiya, about five miles East of Buttala.

25. 48 (p. 173, l. 28). Read: surrounded by a kadambapuppha-thicket.

25. 99 (p. 177, l. 16). Read: sitting on the throne, instead of in the royal chamber.

30. 84 (p. 206, note 2). Add: Cf. *Suttanipāta* 976 foll.

32. 10 (p. 224, N. 2). *Jāla-pūca* means "net-cake". I was told in Ceylon that even now cakes of a peculiar shape are prepared there for which such a denomination would be befitting.

33. 43 (p. 232, l. 6) Read: "The great black Sihala is fleeing".

33. 85 (p. 235, l. 22). Read: concealed herself in a kadambapuppha-thicket.

35. 104 (p. 254, l. 6). Read: in a kadambapuppha-thicket.

35. 116 (p. 255, l. 2). Read: on the place of the kadambapuppha-thicket.

36. 6. Add to note 1, p. 256: In Sinhalese inscriptions he is called *Malu Tissa*. See H. C. P. Bell, ASC. 1896, p. 47-8.

p. 274, l. 12. Read: Sam. 1, p. 258 ff.

p. 288, l. 12. Read: south-east of Anuradhapura, instead of south-west of A.

p. 289, l. 31—290, l. 2. (See above note on 10. 53). The passage should be corrected thus: Its position is shown clearly by Mah. 10, 53, 57, 58. We must look for it on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga, not far from the Kacchaka-ford. It is the Dimbulāgala rock, the so-called "Gunner's Quoin", as Mr. H. Storri has shown.

### V. Culavamsa, tr. I

Introd. p. XXII, l. 7. To *bhaginiyya* add the note: Mr. A. M. Hocart, C. J. Sc. II, p. 31, refers to the part played by the sister's son in Ancient Germany, according to Tacitus, Germania 20: *Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem artioremque hinc nexum sanguinis arbitratur.* "The sister's son is in as great honour with the uncle as with the father. Some consider this tie of blood more sacred and closer."

Introd. p. XXV, line 9. Add the note: The inscriptions of King Nissanka Malla's "Council Chamber" in Polonnaruva supply us with useful information as to the highest officials and the constituent members of the royal council at the time of that king. At the king's right hand there sat 1) the *mahādipāda* (p. XVIII), 2) the *adhipādas* (p. XVI), 3) the *send-pati* (p. XXVI), 4) the *adhibhāris* (p. XXV), 5) the Chief secretary (*mahātthera*; p. XXVIII); — and on his left side 1) the Governors of the provinces (*mayyallika*, p. XXV f.), 2) the eighty-four chiefs of smaller districts (*sārasa*, p. XXV), 3) the heads of the merchants (*settika*). The number 84 exactly corresponds to the 84 *āsambhava* appointed by Parakkamabahu in Dakkhinadesu (Mits, 69, 16). See H. W. Coomaraswamy, JAS. C. Br. XXIX, Nr. 77, 1921, p. 391 f.; the same, HC, p. 68.

37. 175 (p. 16, N. 5). The identification of *Mahādhammakaṭha* with *Tu-mu-khi-ti* is doubtful as *-khi-ti* would correspond to a *-gutta* rather than to a *-kaṭha*.

P. 17, 18, 19, 20 top. Read *Upatissa I* instead of *Upatissa II*.

37. 213 (p. 22, N. 4). Read: right bank, instead of left bank.

38. 68 (p. 36, N. 1). Add at the end of the note: It is however probable that in the *Mahāvamsa* not the Buddhist *yojana*, but the common Indian *yojana* is meant which has the double length. See Passem, Ancient Ceylon, p. 255 f.

P. 52, top. Read *Upatissa II* instead of *Upatissa III*.

41. 89 (p. 60, N. 5). Add at the end of the note: But we may also take *naśamp* as past. pres. and assume that the sentence extends to v. 92 with *pīkṣi* as finite verb.

42. 67 (p. 73, N. 2). Add in the note: Cf. note to 40. 286 and 312.

43. 66 (p. 116, N. 4). Add in line 8 of the note after *tyekhāni*: (Cf. C. J. Sc. G. I, p. 145 ff.).

56. 6. The translation should run thus: he thought it not the time to carry on war and came suddenly into the company of the gods when he just had visited (the town of) Devanagara.

59. 7. The translation is not precise enough. It should run thus: After the wise (prince), that best of men, had held the position of a *yuvrāj* seventeen years he caused (this number of years) to be written down (in the annals). — Add the note: *Sāttirāśāmśi* refers as adverbial to *yuvrājapadam* *sita sānta* and is at the same time object of *likhāpayi*.

60. 64 (p. 220, N. 2). On line 13 of the note read thus: The *Jambukola-vihāra* is the monastery erected by Devānuppiyatissa at the landing place Jambukola (Mhv. 20, 25) and *Jambukolalena* the Dambul monastery 26 miles N. of Matale with its celebrated rock temple.

## VI. Cūlavamīsa, tr. II

74. 151. My translation of the verse is wrong. It is based on a reading *cittuddisikādīnām*, but the *cittuddisikādīnām* of the MSS. is quite correct and we must translate: "Collect for the poor (bhikkhus) from the four regions of the heavens a plentiful gift of alms."

81. 67 (p. 141, l. 17). Read: after that, instead of for that.





